Daily Report

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Kapllani Entertains Balkan Ministers in New York

AU2909195291 Tirana ATA in English 1101 GMT 29 Sep 91

[Text] Tirana, September 29 (ATA)—On September 28, the foreign minister of the Republic of Albania, Muhamet Kapllani, gave a working dinner at the Albanian Mission at the UNO for the foreign ministers of the Balkan countries: of Bulgaria, V. Vulkov; of Greece, A. Samaras; of Romania, A. Nastase; of Turkey, S. Giray; of Yugoslavia, B. Loncar; who attend the 46th session of the UN General Assembly in New York. The Albanian foreign minister gave this dinner in the capacity of the coordinating country of the Balkan cooperation for this year.

Wishing them welcome, Mr. Kapllani said that despite the inner problems and difficulties and the problems amongst one another, the process of Balkan cooperation should continue, something that would contribute to the improvement of the general political situation.

They agreed to hold the next meeting of the foreign ministers of the Balkan states at beginning of January 1992 in Sofia, Bulgaria.

Albanian Foreign Minister Muhamet Kapllani met with the chairman of the U.S. commission for maintaining the U.S. heritage abroad, Arthur Schneir, with whom he had a friendly chat. During the meeting Mr. Schneir who visited Albania some months ago expressed his conviction that the U.S.A. will help Albania in different fields.

Kapllani appreciated the importance of maintaining the heritage of every country and cooperation with the U.S.A. as an outstanding democratic country with an all-sided economic, technical and scientific development.

In the meeting with the UN deputy secretary general and UNDP [UN Development Program] administrator, William Draper, the UN senior official appreciated his recent visit to Albania on occasion of opening the UNDP Bureau in Tirana and expressed the readiness to increase the exchanges between UNDP and Albania, in other directions too, where Albania needs more aids and experts.

The Albanian Minister Muhamet Kapllani appreciated the benefit of Albania's relations with UN, dwelling particularly on the importance of the Brussels recent contacts between the Albanian Government and European Community, where UNDP occupied a special place in the role of organizer of this meeting.

In the meeting with the Spanish Foreign Minister Fernandez-Ordonez, the latter appreciated the democratic processes in Albania and Spain's desire for friendly and fruitful relations with it.

As for the Yugoslav crisis, the two ministers expressed the same opinions for those responsible for it and the factors that may lead to its solution. Ordonez said that every solution without the participation of the Albanians would not be a full and stable solution. He voiced his desire to visit Albania.

In the meeting with the Turkish foreign minister Safa Giray it was spoken on the further expansion of bilateral relations including the contacts and cooperation between the ministers of defence. In this context they underlined the importance of the visit of President Ozal in Tirana by the end of autumn.

They dwelt particularly on the situation in Yugoslavia, expressing the worry over the Yugoslav crisis and laying the stress on the indispensability of involving the international forums as EEC, CSCE, and UNO for its solution.

Albanian foreign minister met at the seat of UNICEF with the executive director of this UN agency and had a friendly and constructive chat with him. The Executive Director James Grant pointed out that the political reforms and particularly the economic ones should not be neglected particularly in the social aspect and human development because in the final account every development should focus on the concern for the life and well-being of man. Further on he expressed the readiness to help Albania and pointed to the one million dollars aid UNICEF has accorded to Albania being convinced that this aid and cooperation will increase in the future.

Foreign Minister Muhamet Kapllani met with the chairman of Foreign Relations Commission of the European Community Franz Andriessen, with whom he had a warm and friendly talk. During the talk Andriessen said that European Community has currently become sensible and is giving special attention to Albania. It is ready to help her not only with emergency food supplies but also with aid and credits which will encourage the development of economic reform and the whole democratic process in Albania. During the meeting it was spoken of the Yugoslav crisis and the commitment of European Community to prevent its real threat to peace in the Balkans and Europe.

CSCE Mission Terms 1st Visit 'Encouraging'

AU3009102891 Munich SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG in German 28-29 Sep 91 p 8

[Report by "UB": "Basic Rights Are Being Respected"]

[Text] Bonn—According to the German chairman of the CSCE fact-finding commission to Albania, its first visit was "encouraging." The group headed by Ambassador Wilhelm Hoeynk from the Foreign Ministry, which included diplomats and experts from several member states, attempted to assess the human rights situation in Albania in the middle of September.

In an initial report, it was stressed that basic freedoms are generally being respected after the opening of the country but that it will still take a great deal of time until the observance of human rights is ensured. Improvement is not conceivable without rapid support for the establishment of a legal culture and without economic aid.

The inspection in Albania was the first CSCE mission of this kind. It had become possible because Albania agreed to this

procedure before it was accepted as a CSCE member in Berlin in June. According to Germany's understanding, this mission was to be one of the first steps leading to the "steady reduction of the principle of noninterference" in Europe, as one diplomat put it. The mission received all the support it needed from the Albanian side. The diplomats and experts visited prisons and also spoke with soldiers who had escaped to Italy and were sent back to Albania. They were shocked by the way people were treated by the Stalinist dictatorship in the last decades. Apart from goodwill, there is a lack of anything on which the rule of law might be based, the group reported.

The first CSCE mission to Albania also plays a role in the Moscow human rights conference that has started drafting a final document. It has become apparent that the call for interference in the event of violations of human rights and of coups represents "a big obstacle for classical international law," as the Foreign Ministry pointed out. As a next step, Bonn wants to make it possible for fact-finding missions to be carried out without the consent of the country concerned.

Kosovo Referendum 'Almost Entire Success'

AU0110093491 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1430 GMT 30 Sep 91

[Text] As Radio Croatia reports in its Albanian-language broadcast, the referendum for the independence and sovereignty of the Republic of Kosovo has been completed with almost entire success. According to reports sent to the Central Commission of the Assembly of the Republic of Kosovo, the referendum has been completed in the overwhelming majority of Kosovo communes, and the only citizens voting today are those who were unable to do so earlier for various reasons. The communes of Suva Reka, Glogovac, Malisevo, Leposavic, Stimlje, Sterpce, and so forth have joined those that completed the referendum yesterday and in which an absolute majority of the inhabitants voted. For instance, in the commune of Skenderaj, 99.96 percent of 28,483 voters voted for a sovereign and independent state of Kosovo, and 99.87 percent in Suva Reka and all the voters in Malisevo voted in favor.

Albanians turned out publicly to the polls on the referendum's fourth day and were joined in many places by Muslims, Turks, Romany Gypsies, and others. The Serbian police did not succeed in obstructing the people's free statement of their views, and the referendum on a sovereign Kosovo thus proved that the Albanian people, even under the conditions of an occupation, have shown their desire for freedom, equality, and sovereignty and have demonstrated that they are entirely determined on a peaceful and democratic solution to the Kosovo problem.

Citizens of the Republic of Kosovo in Croatia, despite the state of war, turned out to the referendum en masse yesterday in order to vote for Kosovo as a sovereign and independent state. By 1200, more than 70 percent of electors had voted at almost 40 polling stations in various centers of Croatia where Albanians live and work. At the sole polling station in Zagreb, in Tresnjevka, hundreds and hundreds of Albanians and other citizens turned out as if on holiday in order to cast their votes for an independent and sovereign Kosovo. Sahin Hasani, the electoral officer at this polling station, told us that about 25,000 citizens will vote in Zagreb and about 200,000 throughout the republic. By 1500 yesterday, 90 percent of the electors in Zagreb had voted. Adem Muzaqi, electoral officer at the headquarters of the Democratic Alliance of Albanians in Croatia, reported that Kosovar citizens in other centers of Croatia also turned out for the referendum. More than 80 percent of electors had voted by 1400 in Kutina, Ivanic-Grad, Novska, a part of Sisak, [two place names indistinct], Rijeka, Krk, [two place names indistinct], Opornica, Umag, Rovinj, Metkovic, Split, Varazdin, and Dubrovnik. In Karlovac, 92 percent of the electors had voted by 1400.

The Central Commission of the Assembly of the Republic of Kosovo for monitoring the referendum, besides other foreign association, has reported that the all-Kosovar plebiscite for the independence of Kosovo was also successfully carried out in West European countries where Albanians from Kosovo live and work. For instance, the Albanians in Switzerland turned out to the polls en masse. More than 10,000 people voted in the Canton of Zurich alone. More than 90 percent voted in Lausanne and its vicinity, while the voting ended in the Canton of Nidwalden at 1820.

In Drammen in Norway, the referendum ended the day before yesterday, and all Albanians voted in favor.

A total of 155 Albanian voters were registered in Montpellier in France, and all 155 voted for Kosovo's independence. Other French cities where Albanian citizens from Kosovo live voted similarly.

Citizens of the Republic of Kosovo living and working in Austria voted for a sovereign and independent Kosovo in Vienna, Linz, Wels, and other cities. By 1800 yesterday, more than 60 percent of the electors had voted.

A total of 95 percent of electors voted in the 36 polling stations in Malmo, Gothenburg, and other Swedish cities.

Albanians in the FRG responded en masse to the call to the referendum.

Albanians in Libya also voted for Kosovo's independence. About 80 percent of Kosovo citizens voted in the city of Benghazi.

Albanians in the United States also replied to the call to the referendum. The referendum ended yesterday in New York, New Jersey, Chicago, and Detroit, as well as in Canada. Albanian citizens of the Republic of Kosovo also voted in the Netherlands, Belgium, Denmark, and other countries of Europe.

The Central Commission of the Assembly of the Republic of Kosovo for monitoring the referendum has received a letter signed by 11 Albanians living in Belgrade, giving their votes

in favor of Kosovo's sovereignty. The Albanian Brotherhood Cultural and Solidarity Association in Istanbul welcomes the formation of the Assembly of the Republic of Kosovo and hopes that the Albanians will clearly express in the all-people's referendum their stand on the Republic of Kosovo's full sovereignty.

According to the decision of the Republic of Kosovo's Education Ministry, classes in all schools and at the University of Kosovo will start on 1 October. The Independent Union of Kosovo School Pupils [Bashkimi i Pavarur i Nxenesve te Kosoves] calls on pupils to heed this decision and to be aware of their role on the common front in defense of Albanian schools in Kosovo.

Journalists Protest Arrest of BUJKU Editor

AU2909195391 Tirana ATA in English 1307 GMT 29 Sep 91

[Text] Tirana, September 29 (ATA)—The Albanian Journalists' League learned with profound indignation on the arrest of Mr. Xhemal Rexhepi, editor in chief of the newspaper "BUJKU" of Pristina. This ugly act shows once again the criminal countenance of the Serb occupation chauvinists, who want to violate at all cost the truth on Kosovo and the Albanian national cause.

Henceforth, the Albanian Journalists' League, on behalf of human rights, inviolable dignity of the reporter, on behalf of the honour and sovereignty of the intellectual, energetically protests against the arrest of the personality of Kosovo journalism, Xhemal Rexhepi. We demand that the illegitimate Serb rulers put an end to all sorts of persecutions, maltreatment, summoning, imprisonment of the reporters of Kosovo because they do not keep silent for the unprecedented Serb crime, as they display with bravery the painful Kosovo truth.

Former Political Prisoners End Hunger Strike

AU3009204891 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1900 GMT 30 Sep 91

[Report by Sokol Perihati—live or recorded]

[Text] A People's Assembly commission consisting of Neritan Ceka, chairman of the Democratic Party's legislative group, Namik Dokle, deputy chairman of the Socialist Party's legislative group, and Arben Imami, deputy chairman of the Democratic Party's legislative group, came to the gymnasium of the Tirana Sports Club at 1820 today. This legislative commission came to convey to the strikers the law recognizing the innocence, amnesty, and rehabilitation of former political prisoners and victims of persecution, now approved by the People's Assembly.

Ceka spoke first, saying that there had been a legislative debate on the approval of this law until its final formulation was achieved. He then said that the legislature asks for your forgiveness in the name of the Albanian people and thanks you for being the first fighters for democracy. He stressed that the law also covers those who are abroad at present, having fled because of their political convictions. He then told the strikers that the law will be published this evening and tomorrow but comes into effect immediately.

Namik Dokle, deputy chairman of the Socialist Party's legislative group, then spoke. He said that this law will help social peace, national conciliation, and democracy in Albania.

Viktor Martini, one of the members of the Strike Committee, then expressed the strikers' gratitude to the legislative group for coming here and stressed that the deputies of the Socialist Party, who are their opponents, have joined them in their fair demands for the first time. At the end of his speech, he said: May the memory of those who died and whose bones are laid in the foundations of our new democracy be immortal.

The members of the Strike Committee also met with the legislative group in a separate location, and Deputy Arben Imami read to them the newly approved law recognizing their innocence. After acquainting themselves with the law, the Strike Committee, together with all the strikers, reached the conclusion that the purpose for which they had organized the strike had been achieved. They therefore decided to end the strike at 1920.

People's Assembly Passes Amnesty Law

AU3009183091 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1700 GMT 30 Sep 91

[Report by Zamira Koleci—live]

[Text] As the second session of the People's Assembly continued, deputies considered, article by article, the bill on the innocence, amnesty, and rehabilitation of former political prisoners and victims of persecution.

At the proposal of Deputies Dokle and Kopliku, Article 1 of this bill, which was approved unanimously, was formulated as follows: All persons sentenced for agitation and propaganda against the state, fleeing the country, sabotage, creating or participating in political organizations, failing to report crimes against the state, slander and insults against the highest state and party organs, and violations of Decree 7,459 On the Respect and Protection of Monuments Connected With National History and State Symbols and Decree 7,408 On Assemblies, Gatherings, and Demonstrations of Citizens in Public Places are innocent and considered for moral, political, and social purposes as not having been convicted.

Article 2 was then approved. This article states that all Albanian citizens who fled Albania because of their political convictions or activities during the war or between the liberation and the date on which this law comes into effect and who did not commit acts of terrorism or diversion that led to deaths or serious consequences, and all those who have illegally crossed the border, are innocent. All others are amnestied.

After a lengthy debate, the deputies then approved Article 3, which states: All those sentenced for crimes against the state and for failure to report such crimes, except those who committed acts of terrorism or diversion that led to deaths or other serious consequences, are amnestied. All those convicted for the crimes of slander or insults against the highest state and party organs under Article 118 of the Penal Code and all those who violated dispositions of Decree 7,459 On the Respect and Protection of Monuments Connected With National History and State Symbols and Decree 7,408 On Assemblies, Gatherings, and Demonstrations of Citizens in Public Places are amnestied.

The deputies also approved Article 4, which defines the economic and moral rights of persons benefiting from Article 1 of this bill. Two paragraphs were added to this article on the proposal of Deputies Barka and Ali Spahia, stating that the Council of Ministers considers petitions from former convicts, prisoners, and internees when the conditions of Paragraph C are not fulfilled. In the other paragraph, all the rights established by this law are also extended to the families of those convicted. Article 5 was then approved. This article states that persons deported or interned for political reasons also gain the rights recognized by Article 4 of this law. The Council of Ministers entrusts the enforcement of this law to the Ministry of Public Order, the Justice Minister, the Procurator General, the Finance Ministry, and the district and regional executive committees—in other words, all bodies responsible for solving this problem.

In conclusion, Deputy Imami proposed the drafting of an article for the creation of a legislative commission including representatives of the Association of Former Political Prisoners in order to examine and collect evidence on state political crimes. The deputies approved this article.

The law was then approved as a whole. It comes into effect today, 30 September 1991. Thus, the People's Assembly proceedings ended and will resume at 0900 tomorrow.

Cracks Said Appearing in Democratic Party

AU3009135791 Paris AFP in English 1201 GMT 30 Sep 91

[Report by Jean Louis de la Vaissiere]

[Text] Tirana, Sept 30 (AFP)—The Albanian Government is pushing for a rapid transition to a market economy, despite efforts by former communists to put the brakes on, and at the risk of high social cost.

The coalition government formed in June wants to speed up the reform of the creaking centrally-planned system, but is coming up against resistance, and at times outright sabotage, of its efforts by former communists who are still in positions of power at virtually all levels of the system.

The Democratic Party, which brought about the ouster of the communist regime earlier this year, holds the key economic posts in the coalition government with the Socialist (formerly the Communist) Party.

These seven ministers want to see the reforms push ahead quickly, opposing any moves towards a slowdown aimed at appeasing public opinion as the effects begin to bite.

The government is planning mass privatisation, and wants to auction off 25,000 small collective operations by the end of 1992.

Land in the hands of cooperatives is finally being shared out among those cultivating it, and the government eventually plans to transform the massive state farms into joint ventures.

The reforms, coupled with massive foreign aid, can "save the country", according to Deputy Prime Minister and Economy Minister Gramoz Pashko of the Democratic Party. But he acknowledges that it will mean the country going through a particularly difficult six to eight months next year, with massive unemployment. Informed sources here are talking of 250,000 people being put out of work.

Albania has already opened its doors to foreign investment and said foreign businessmen will be able to repatriate their profits. From next year, the government will be selling off those huge state enterprises considered rescuable. But the non-convertibility of the Albanian currency, the lek, is a disincentive.

Pashko is busy wooing international financial institutions and the west, calling on western economists to help with the industrial privatisation programme.

The country is also calling for foreign aid to help stem the exodus of young people who have flooded into Italy this year and to see the country through the winter, with some regions threatened with famine.

This already difficult situation is complicated by problems on the political front, with cracks appearing within the Democratic Party, which held its first congress at the weekend.

The "intellectual" wing of the party, to which the seven pro-reform ministers belong, spoke out against any temptation to slow down the reform efforts in a bid to win popularity, and refused to take part in the standing ovation for re-elected party leader Sali Berisha.

Berisha won 449 of the 561 votes cast in the leadership election, but the congress "was disagreeable at political level and marked by a lot of ambiguities," said party spokesman Genc Polo.

Many delegates "are not ready to accept the sacrifices and unpopularity for several years which the reforms will mean," Polo said. "But they are not offering any alternative except being populist."

Culture Minister Prec Zogaj complained at the congress that the intellectuals were underrepresented, and rural interests overly so, in the leadership.

In fact the party has had trouble wooing the rural vote, which accounts for some 65 percent of the population.

Its defeat by the Socialist Party in elections in March, with only 39.3 percent of the vote against 56.4 for the former communists, was largely due to this failure.

The government has finally started distributing land from cooperatives—which account for 75 percent of cultivated land—after months of often violent protest in some areas, and last week the first parcel was shared out between 15 families in one village.

Democratic Party's Berisha Grants News Conference

AU2909204991 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1900 GMT 29 Sep 91

[Text] Democratic Party Chairman Dr. Sali Berisha gave a news conference for the national press, ATA, the radio, television, and foreign journalists visiting our country at the end of the Democratic Party's first National Assembly in the Palace of Congress in Tirana this afternoon.

Democratic Party spokesman Genc Pollo opened the news conference and first reported on the proceedings of the Democratic Party's first National Assembly and the decisions it made and read the assembly's resolutions, including its resolution on Kosovo.

Democratic Party Chairman Sali Berisha replied to journalists' questions on various problems, the party's organization and work after the assembly, the Democratic Party's relations with other political forces of the country, attracting intellectuals to the party, and so forth. Answering questions, he stressed that opposing views are necessary not only in science but also in parties. Otherwise, our party cannot be democratic. He said that we will collaborate only with those forces that are genuinely of the opposition, and that the Democratic Party will pay more attention in the future to attracting democratic intellectuals.

To the question of whether bringing forward the election date would obstruct the economic reform, he said that a political settlement would also bring forward the reform. Asked whether two currents of thought now exist in the Democratic Party, Sali Berisha replied that there cannot be a uniform, monolithic, and quiescent Democratic Party without currents of thought.

There were also questions at the news conference about the opposition press, the help the Democratic Party should give to the student movement, and so forth.

Democratic Party National Assembly Ends

AU3009124891 Tirana ATA in English 0922 GMT 30 Sep 91

[Text] Tirana, September 30 (ATA)—The first National Assembly of the Democratic Party, which held its last sittings on September 29, declared to the delegates and guests the results of votings for the new elections to the steering organs of the Democratic Party. On behalf of the voting commission, Ferit Hafizi reported that Prof. Dr. Sali Berisha was elected chairman of the Democratic Party by majority of votes. Those present received this report with applause.

Taking the floor at the Assembly, Prof. Sali Berisha said that the election to this post makes me multiply my responsibility before you and before all the democratic forces in Albania. When I joined the student movement, he said further on, I did not intend to deal with politics, but to serve the people. Speaking of the obligation of the Democratic Party to the national cause, Prof. Dr. Sali Berisha said that Albania has never had such a broad democratic opinion as now, when she is heading to the Western world. Speaking of the road of the Democratic Party, he pointed out that it is difficult to be in opposition in this country where red nomenclature is being transformed from political mafia into economic mafia. The DP [Democratic Party] will have to face a difficult road because an Enverist parliament and a communist president are in power, but it will fight to the end not for an armchair but to put people above everything. He called on to strengthen the Democratic Party, to head to a full and genuine democracy.

In the end, he thanked the delegates who voted for him and those who did not vote for him, stressing that this is something positive, which reminds me that I lack something, and I will work to correct myself .

Later on the Assembly elected the National Council of the Democratic Party, made up of 103 members and the presidency of the DP made up of 19 members.

The chairman of the Democratic Party, Prof. Dr. Sali Berisha said that the presidency of the Democratic Party in its first meeting elected Eduard Selami secretary of the DP and Neritan Ceka, Azem Hajdari and Arben Imami, vice-chairmen.

The representatives in this Assembly endorsed the resolution of the first National Assembly of the Democratic Party and the resolution on Kosova.

The first National Assembly of the Democratic Party was declared closed by Azem Hajdari, vice-chairman of the DP.

Bill Proposes Housing Privatization

AU3009084791 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 18 Sep 91 p 2

[Bill to be presented to the People's Assembly for approval: "Bill for Privatization of State Housing"]

[Text] [Boxed item: The first package of bills examined and decrees approved by the Council of Ministers for the large-scale introduction of the economic reform includes the bill "For the Privatization of State Housing." This bill prepared by the government will soon be discussed by the People's

Assembly. The Council of Ministers, considering the transfer of publicly owned housing to the private ownership of its tenants to be a very important process in the interest of all citizens of the Republic of Albania, has decided to publish this bill in order to facilitate a totally open discussion in the press of how state housing should be privatized.
—Council of Ministers' Press and Information Office]

In accordance with Law No. 7,491 of 29 April 1991, "On the Main Constitutional Provisions," and at the suggestion of the Council of Ministers, the People's Assembly decrees:

Article 1

Public housing in towns and centers of habitation may be privatized by the free grant of the housing's total value to the people living in it, on the basis of their consent.

Article 2

Variant 1

The Finance Ministry and the General Directorate of the Albanian State Bank will define the kind of security through which the value of housing will be distributed to tenants to a value of 4,000 leks per person.

Variant 2

Five thousand six hundred leks.

Article 3

The transfer of public housing to tenants' ownership will start on 1 January 1991, and the relevant legal steps will be taken for every apartment according to the dispositions of the law. The difference between the real value of the apartment and the part of its value granted free will be paid or taken as compensation.

Apartments inhabited by more than one family pass into the ownership of all adult members of the families.

The part of the security not used for the privatization of existing housing will be used for the purchase or financing of new private or public housing and the purchase of building materials of different kinds.

Article 4

Tenants occupying living space in excess of their quota, when this consists of a separate room, will have this room valued at a double rate. When this extra living space consists of more than one separate room, the apartment cannot be transferred to the tenant's private ownership.

Article 5

New housing built with the help of state funds will be allocated by the sale of this housing. The state provides rented housing only for officers in the active service of the Defense Ministry, the Ministry of Public Order, and the National Intelligence Service, and for working people whose earnings per person are below the legally recognized subsistence level.

Article 6

Apartments will be paid for immediately or in installments of not less than 80 leks per month. When an apartment is paid for immediately, its price is reduced by 30 percent. When the first installment amounts to 40-50 percent of the apartment's value, its price is reduced by 15 percent, and, when the first installment amounts to 25-30 percent, its price is reduced by 10 percent.

Article 7

Housing built by the state in the countryside passes to the ownership of its tenants free of charge.

Article 8

The General Directorate of the Communal Economy and the executive committees of district and regional people's councils will estimate the value of all state housing in towns and centers of habitation before the end of December 1991. A central commission and special commissions for each district and region will be created for this purpose.

Article 9

Variant 1

Before the end of October 1991, the Council of Ministers will provide instructions for establishing the criteria for estimating the value and depreciation of housing, allocating securities, accomplishing the transfer of property, and allocating new housing.

Variant 2

The following paragraph is added: "The price of apartments is reached by adding a 50-percent turnover tax [tatim mbi xhiro] to the apartment's initial value.

Article 10

Families are considered to consist of those family members registered in the Citizens' Register of 1 October 1990.

Article 11

Variant 1

The dispositions of this law do not apply to state housing that was formerly private property.

Variant 2

The dispositions of this law do not apply to housing that does not meet the necessary legal conditions.

All legal dispositions that conflict with this law are annulled.

Popov Reviews Situation in Balkans, Election Plans

AU2909204791 Sofia BTA in English 1852 GMT 29 Sep 91

[Text] Sofia, September 29 (BTA)—"I do not think that the Yugoslav Army may occupy Macedonia," Prime Minister Dimitur Popov said in a television interview this evening. He described the reports in the Macedonian press on a danger of a Serb invasion in Macedonia as "alarming." That would be a bad move that would complicate much the situation in the Balkans, said Mr. Popov. "We cannot help being anxious," he added. In his opinion, however, the situation is not that alarming and the government follows the events closely.

He announced that besides the bilateral treaty that is expected to be signed with Greece, a similar draft treaty is being prepared with Turkey. Perhaps the forthcoming elections in Turkey prevent the government from working on the treaty, Mr. Popov explained.

He also announced he would not take part in the election campaign, although he has already been registered as a candidate in two constituencies.

Deputy Prime Minister Tomov Departs for Bonn

AU3009080691 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 0700 GMT 30 Sep 91

[Text] On 29 September, Aleksandur Tomov, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, departed for Bonn. The deputy prime minister was personally invited by Mr. Klaus Toepfer, German minister of the environment.

The two ministers will determine the amount of the German donation to Bulgaria. The presumable amount is 19 million German marks, about $11 million, which will be used for the purchase of equipment for the Kozloduy Nuclear Power Plant. The means are needed in order to increase the safety level in Kozloduy. They will stimulate the reform in our power supply system, Mr. Tomov said prior to his departure.

During his one-day visit to Bonn, the deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers will have meetings at the German Ministry of Foreign Affairs and will meet the president of the Siemens Company.

Vulkov Meets Pankin, Others in New York

AU2709100291 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 0900 GMT 27 Sep 91

[Text] Viktor Vulkov, minister of foreign affairs, has met Boris Pankin, USSR minister of foreign affairs in New York. The two ministers discussed bilateral relations, including developing economic relations between Bulgaria and the USSR and its republics. They also discussed the situation in the Balkans against the background of the recent UN Security Council resolution on Yugoslavia.

Viktor Vulkov, who is in New York to take part in the UN General Assembly session, also met Dr. 'Ali Akbar Velayati, Iranian foreign minister. Opinions on the state and prospects of bilateral relations were exchanged. It was pointed out that these are very good and that possibilities for their further development exist. Expanding contacts and strengthening cooperation in certain specific spheres were discussed.

Minister Vulkov also met his Portuguese colleague, Foreign Minister Joao de Deus Pinheiro. Opinions related to expanding cooperation between Bulgaria and Portugal were exchanged. Portugal, as chairman of the EC from the beginning of 1992, will support the more rapid association of Bulgaria with the EC. The two colleagues agreed upon a visit of the Bulgarian foreign minister to Portugal in December.

Minister Vulkov also met [Hungarian foreign minister] Geza Jeszenszky. The possibilities of developing bilateral relations and international issues of mutual interest were discussed.

Minister Vulkov, who was recently elected chairman of the Board of Directors of the New York East-West Issues Research Institute, also met John Mroz, president of the institute. The possibilities of expanding relations with this influential institute were discussed.

Meeting With More Counterparts

AU2909204491 Sofia BTA in English 1729 GMT 28 Sep 91

[Text] New York, September 28 (BTA)—Bulgaria's Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs Viktor Vulkov is in New York to attend the 46th Session of the UN General Assembly. He met with the minister of foreign affairs of China, Mr. Qian Qichen. They paid special attention to the state and prospects of bilateral relations and to the situation in the Balkans.

He also met with the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Egypt Mr. 'Amr Musa. They both pointed out their satisfaction with the development of the traditional relations between Bulgaria and Egypt. They also shared the conviction that there are considerable opportunities for expanding that cooperation. They discussed the problems of the conflict in the Middle East and Mr. Vulkov presented Bulgaria's stand on the matter.

Mr. Vulkov attended a meeting of the foreign ministers of the Balkan states at which the state and prospects of multilateral relations in that region were discussed.

He also met with his French counterpart, Mr. Roland Dumas. They exchanged opinions on a variety of questions concerning the bilateral relations. They established their positive state and the conditions for their further development. They agreed upon speeding up the work on a bilateral treaty for friendship and cooperation. They also discussed up-to-date foreign political issues and the situation in Yugoslavia. Mr. Dumas praised the progress of democratic processes in Bulgaria.

Defense Minister Receives Austrian Delegation

AU0110100091 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 2100 GMT 30 Sep 91

[Text] Army General Yordan Mutafchiev, minister of national defense, received the visiting Austrian military delegation headed by General Karl Meissen, inspector general of the Austrian Armed Forces.

With this meeting the two countries resumed their contacts in the military sector, which were interrupted 20 years ago. According to both sides, the beginning of a new type of bilateral relations between Bulgaria and Austria was marked.

Army General Yordan Mutafchiev said, among other things, that a Bulgarian battalion will presumably participate in the actions of UN forces in Cambodia.

Delegation Visit Reported

AU0110085691 Sofia BTA in English 2139 GMT 30 Sep 91

[Report by Ognyan Branichev: "Prospects for Wide-Ranging Military Cooperation With Austria"]

[Text] Sofia, September 30 (BTA)—After a break of more than twenty years, senior Bulgarian and Austrian military met today. General Karl Majcen, inspector general of the Austrian Armed Forces, who arrived at the head of a delegation here, conferred successively with the Bulgarian Minister of Defence Army General Yordan Mutafchiev and with his first deputy and chief of the General Staff Colonel General Lyuben Petrov.

At the meetings the sides voiced their concern over developments in Yugoslavia. Bulgaria and Austria have no territorial designs and declared themselves in favour of strengthened cooperation and goodneighbourliness, respect for the principles of non-intervention in internal affairs and the peoples' right to self-determination.

General Lyuben Petrov dismissed the Yugoslav press allegations of some Bulgarian plans for an invasion of Macedonia. He said that yesterday's blitz inspection along the Bulgaro-Yugoslav border, attended by Western military attaches, confirmed that these allegations are absolutely groundless. The representatives of the defence departments of Yugoslavia and Greece were even "surprised" at the low level of manning, which was due to the discharge of the previous conscript class taking place as usual at this time of the year. "We count on your sound reason and good will for the promotion of reciprocal relations," the hosts told those military attaches.

The participants in the inspection overflew large parts of the border areas and landed in two points at the request of the foreign military attaches.

Bulgaria reaffirmed its will to seek security guarantees (after the disbandment of the Warsaw Treaty) in European structures and in bilateral treaties. An emphasis was laid on this country's determination to observe strictly the spirit and the letter of commitments assumed under international treaties. The years-long confrontation between Turkey and Bulgaria was against the interests of both countries, the Bulgarian defence minister pointed out. He voiced concern over Turkey's excessive build-up of equipment and troops along the border with Bulgaria and called for the reduction of these forces to a reasonable level.

During the last few months Bulgaria was visited by the secretary general of NATO Dr. Manfred Woerner and by military delegations of the United States, Germany and other countries. Bulgaria sees wide-ranging opportunities for cooperation with Austria in Armed Forces organization and personnel training. General Lyuben Petrov came up with specific suggestions to tap Austria's experience in the observance of international security commitments and in the training of personnel for UN peace-keeping operations. The Bulgarian military showed interest in the legal regulation of intelligence activities in Austria. Interaction is sought in personnel training, in the experience of financing and logistical support of the Armed Forces in market conditions.

These and other problems will be discussed at further talks and will be subject to specific common understanding. General Karl Majcen expressed readiness for cooperation, and in the coming months Bulgaria and Austria may be expected to sign a wide-ranging document on military cooperation.

Tomorrow the guests will visit military installations, including the higher military school in the town of Veliko Turnovo. They will leave in two days' time.

Military Attaches Inspect Border With Macedonia

AU2909201091 Sofia BTA in English 1959 GMT 29 Sep 91

["Bulgaria Seeks No Advantage From Situation in Yugoslavia"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, September 29 (BTA)—The spokesman for the Council of Ministers made a statement in connection with a feature in the newspaper "PULS" in Skopje, claiming that the Republic of Macedonia will be occupied by the Serbian Army under the pretext that Bulgaria is preparing an aggression against that republic. The report contains allegations that can doubtlessly create opportunities for crippling the good relations between the two republics, the spokesman stated. He confirmed the statement of Prime Minister Dimitur Popov that Bulgaria firmly sticks to its declarations, seeks no advantage from the complicated situation in Yugoslavia and sincerely hopes the will of the people of the Republic of Macedonia will come true. The Council of Ministers assigned the minister of foreign affairs, the chief of the General Staff and the commander of the Border Guard units the task to invite military attaches of Western countries, Yugoslavia and Greece to inspect the whole border region with the Republic of Macedonia. They established unanimously that no troops have been

moved from inside the country to the border regions with Macedonia. The helicopter trip was interrupted several times at the request of the military attaches, so that they could inspect the outfits in Kresna and Simitli. They were given all opportunities to inspect not only the troops but the military equipment as well. They came to the firm conclusion that there are no preparations for troops concentration, says the statement.

The prime minister thanked the military attaches who took part in the inspection for their cooperation. Although they were called and invited to take part in the inspection in the middle of the night, they kindly responded and established the real situation there.

Foreign Ministry Announcement

AU3009221491 Sofia BTA in English
2109 GMT 30 Sep 91

[Text] Sofia, September 30 (BTA)—The Ministry of Foreign Affairs sent the BTA the following announcement:

"In connection with the report of the Skopje Weekly 'PULS' quoted on Bulgarian Television as alleging an imminent Bulgarian aggression against Yugoslavia, the Ministry of Internal Affairs and the Ministry of Defense organized a tour of the Bulgaro-Yugoslav border, which was attended by the Minister of Internal Affairs Mr. Khristo Danov, the Chief of the General Staff Colonel General Petrov and the Commander of the Border Guard Troops Major General Angelov, accompanied by military attaches of Western countries, Yugoslavia and Greece.

"They overflew the border by helicopter, stopped at several points chosen by the military attaches, made inspections and found that there was no concentration whatsoever of Bulgarian Army units along Bulgaria's border with the Republic of Macedonia, and that no preparations were underway for aggressive operations on the part of Bulgaria which would give Yugoslav Army units a pretext to go into any action whatsoever.

"The officers visited the military garrisons in Kresna and Simitli at the request of some military attaches."

Deputy Prime Minister Confirms Reactor Shutdown

AU0110085591 Sofia BTA in English
2146 GMT 30 Sep 91

[Text] Bonn, September 30 (BTA)—Today Deputy Prime Minister Aleksandur Tomov and the German minister of the environment, conservation and reactor safety, Prof. Dr. Klaus Toepfer, discussed in Bonn the state of the Kozloduy Nuclear Power Plant. Mr. Tomov confirmed that generating unit two will also be switched off soon. Generating unit one has already been switched off. Prof. Dr. Klaus Toepfer assessed the switching off of the two generating units as inevitable because of their insufficient safety. He believes that generating units three and four should continue operating only for a brief transitional period. Bulgaria will receive spare parts from the East German Greifswald N-Plant which has been closed down. According to Prof. Dr. Toepfer the enhancing of the safety of the Kozloduy Nuclear Power Plant should be focused on generating units five and six. Mr. Aleksandur Tomov and Mr. Klaus Toepfer were unanimous that Kozloduy will need highly qualified personnel for its future operation.

In an interview for Deutsche Welle Mr. Aleksandur Tomov said that he expects to complete the discussions of the special aid of DM 19,000 granted by the German Government for Kozloduy. This aid will be mainly in hardware and spare parts from the Greifswald Plant.

The Bulgarian Government will be guided by the principle "safety comes before production." The fact that Bulgaria will be deprived of 13 or 14 percent of its energy is an irrefutable proof of this, Mr. Aleksandur Tomov said, after confirming the schedule of the switch off and start up of the Kozloduy generating units before Mr. Toepfer.

The Bulgarian Government is willing to invest in the development of other energy sources but this is a question of time, Mr. Aleksandur Tomov said. Concerning the suggestions that certain circles in the West are fanning up the problem of Kozloduy, Mr. Tomov said that some companies are interested above all in the profits they may gain. But, in his opinion, it is here that the politicians should come in.

Bulgaria needs the strong support of the western industrialized states in order to reorganize its energy system, and the World Bank and the European Community are already working on this problem, Mr. Klaus Toepfer said. "Our help is only a temporary solution in a transitional period," he said.

Ambassador Recall Over Pollution Still Possible

AU3009155891 Sofia BTA in English
1406 GMT 30 Sep 91

[Text] Sofia, September 30 (BTA)—The Danubian city of Ruse was polluted again early this morning despite the diplomatic activity of the Bulgarian Government last week, when the Giurgiu-based chemical works polluted the atmosphere several times.

Bulgaria's Prime Minister Dimitur Popov is in Ruse today, as he promised last night. He said he would visit Giurgiu as well to meet with his counterpart Petre Roman or with Romania's minister of the environment. Yesterday Mr. Popov made two statements on Ruse's problems on the national radio and television. He spoke about his unsuccessful efforts to contact Mr. Petre Roman last week and to demand categorically that Ruse be no longer gassed. At their recent meeting in Sofia the two prime ministers pledged themselves to become guarantors of the settlement of the problem.

On September 28 President Zhelyu Zhelev's spokesman stressed Dr. Zhelev's repeated statements before Romania's president and other leaders that such an isolated but pressing problem should not be allowed to cast a blight upon Bulgarian-Romanian relations as a whole. Unless Romania urgently takes actions to end the environmental tragedy in this Bulgarian city, Bulgaria will consider seriously recalling its ambassador from Bucharest, the president's spokesman said. The spokesman pointed to the continued chlorine pollution of Ruse as one of the reasons for postponing Mr. Ion Iliescu's visit to Sofia.

Meanwhile, a special declaration of the Romanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs denied blame that the Giurgiu-based chemical works have anything to do with the environmental tragedy in Ruse.

A sign-in campaign in support of Ruse's citizens was launched in Sofia. Demonstrations and protest actions are held frequently in Ruse. Recently the 4th anniversary of the first official protest was marked.

Nastev Denies Existence of Macedonian Minority

AU2809140791 Sofia BTA in English
2205 GMT 27 Sep 91

[Report by BTA correspondent Nadezhda Bogoyavlenska in Moscow: "There Is No Macedoniann Minority in Bulgaria"]

[Text] Sofia, September 27 (BTA)—"There is not a Macedonian minority in Bulgaria," Mr. Atanas Nastev, head of the Bulgarian delegation to the Moscow Conference on the Human Dimension, said at a plenary meeting today.

Mr. Nastev denied allegations made by the Yugoslav delegation that Bulgaria violates the rights of its "Macedonian minority."

The Bulgarian representative warned that the Yugoslav crisis poses a threat to the security in the region and the continent. According to him, it is inadmissible to try to divert the attention of the international public by focusing it on practically non-existent Bulgarian problems.

"Bulgaria does not and will not make any attempt to take advantage of the difficult situation in Yugoslavia," Mr. Nastev said.

Mr. Nastev stressed that Bulgaria follows a policy of goodneighbourliness and all-round promotion of the friendly relations with all its neighbours, an expression of which was the recent visit by Mr. Nikola Kljusev, prime minister of Macedonia, to Bulgaria and the meetings with Blaze Ristevski, head of the Macedonian delegation to the conference.

Mr. Nastev described the allegations made by the Yugoslav delegation as a "regrettable relapse to the past" which hampers the establishment of normal relations between Bulgaria and Macedonia.

Turkish Boycott of Schools, Other Issues Reported

AU0110085391 Sofia BTA in English
2050 GMT 30 Sep 91

[Text] Sofia, September 30 (BTA)—The Bulgarian Independent Committee on National Problems urged the government to recognize immediately the independence of Macedonia, Slovenia and Croatia. The committee brings together scientists, public figures, politicians and clerics.

Turkish schoolchildren keep boycotting classes in the areas with compact Turkish population. They have been staying away from school for a third week now. They want their mother tongue to be taught as a compulsory rather than as an optional subject, which is what the ministry of education plans. "The boycott already looks like a marathon," the BTA correspondent in Razgrad reports. In the villages near Razgrad, school attendance is five or six children per form. The state school inspectorate in Razgrad has received warnings that the boycott may spread to the towns.

"We have not yet decided whether we would join a coalition government with Ahmed Dogan's Movement for Rights and Freedoms (DPS), but in the future parliament the Union of Democratic Forces (SDS) will count on the DPS's parliamentary support," Mr. Filip Dimitrov, leader of the SDS (the radical opposition), told the press today.

Tomorrow the Supreme Court will rule on a motion for a supervisory review of its own decision dismissing a complaint by a group of M.P.'s about the registration of the Movement for Rights and Freedoms for the elections by the Central Electoral Commission. Today's hearing of the case was adjourned because the DPS leader Ahmed Dogan did not present himself in court. Lawyers say the court has two possible avenues for action tomorrow: To reject the motion, invoking the lack of a supervisory review procedure for the decisions of the Supreme Court in the Electoral Law, or to sustain the motion which, however, would inevitably result in a postponement of the elections.

Nearly one thousand Muslim Bulgarians of the Middle Rhodopes (Southern Bulgaria) flocked yesterday to a commemorative ritual at the tomb of Sari Baba. The Muslims had the tomb restored by funds they raised themselves. The regional mufti told the BTA that the congregation venerated Sari Baba as a holy man, ignoring the history and the legends that he led the Ottoman forces which conquered the Rhodopi Mountains. At the ritual, the mufti called for good relations with the Christians in the spirit of old traditions.

The Prosecutor General's Office today completed its ten-month-long investigation into the ecological crisis.

No one has been charged so far. The investigators collected more than 100 volumes of testimonial and written evidence. The case was referred to a supervising prosecutor at the Prosecutor General's Office who will have to decide whether to dismiss it or to refer it back for further investigation and prosecution. Prosecutor Dimitur Chavdarov of the Prosecutor General's Office realizes that a dismissal of the case would raise a public outcry because of the disastrous condition of the country's environment. Under the effective Bulgarian Law, individual public officers may not be held criminally liable for such offences, Mr. Chavdarov told the BTA.

The members of the Constitutional Court were appointed by a presidential decree today.

The leaders of the Bulgarian Communist Party will take their case to the Constitutional Court if the Supreme Court tomorrow rejects their complaint about a decision of the Central Electoral Commission assigning the red ballot paper in the forthcoming elections to the Socialist (ex-Communist) Party.

Today leaders of the Union of Democratic Forces claimed that ex-Premier Andrey Lukanov of the BSP and Mr. Chavdar Kyuranov, a high-ranking member of the Socialist Party, used improper methods in their election campaign. The SDS has a recording and a videotape showing that Mr. Lukanov calls the leader of the United Agrarian Party Mr. Tsenko Barev a "political dinosaur" and the incumbent Minister of Foreign Affairs Mr. Viktor Vulkov "a minion of new masters." SDS officials believe BSP activists have been expressly instructed to use improper methods in their campaign.

SDS Center (comprising the Social Democratic Party, the Ecoglasnost Political Club, the Democratic Party—Plovdiv and the Alternative Socialist Organization-Independent) also claims that the campaign is unfair. However, SDS Center, which broke away from the opposition coalition two months ago, blames its former partners of the SDS. SDS Center is suing SDS for the coalition's assets and wants it distrained. "With two weeks to go before the elections, this is hardly the most important matter," said SDS leader Filip Dimitrov asked to comment today.

Experts of SDS Center predict another surge of inflation in the autumn. They believe that Finance Minister Ivan Kostov's statement that the rate of inflation over the next three months will not exceed 2 per cent a month is not based on any specific anti-inflationary programmes.

The Hotel Zora at the Black Sea resort of Golden Sands today became the first Bulgarian hotel to pass into private hands. The president of the company which bought it for nearly 13 million leva intends to convert it into a sanatorium.

The installation of cable television equipment started today in Lovech, Northern Bulgaria.

Polls Foreshadow SDS Election Victory

AU2909200891 Sofia BTA in English
1852 GMT 28 Sep 91

[Text] Sofia, September 28 (BTA)—Bulgarian sociologists believe that the SDS [Union of Democratic Forces] will have the greatest number of representatives in the future parliament. This conclusion is based on representative opinion polls conducted by the National Public Opinion Center, the Center for the Study of Democracy, the Bulgarian Association for Fair Elections and Civil Rights and a group of scientists from the Institute of Sociology and the University of Sofia. The results were presented in the "Panorama" program on the national television this evening. Most of them were also published in the press.

25.1 per cent of the respondents in the National Public Opinion Center's poll say they will vote for the SDS, 22.9 per cent will vote for the BSP [Bulgarian Socialist Party]. According to this poll, the organizations to be also represented in the future parliament after the October 13 elections are: Mr. Ahmed Dogan's Movement for Rights and Freedoms, the Nikola Petkov Bulgarian Agrarian Party, the SDS-Center, the Bulgarian Agrarian Party (United) and the SDS-Liberals. The SDS-Liberals are close to the requird minimum of four per cent. Prognosis versions were worked out on the basis of this data. The SDS is expected to hold the greatest number of seats in parliament, followed by the BSP (formerly BCP) [Bulgarian Communist Party]. The first in many years multiparty elections last year were won by the BSP while the SDS was the major opposition force.

Civil Rights Association Conducts Opinion Poll

AU2909200691 Sofia BTA in English
0053 GMT 28 Sep 91

[Text] Sofia, September 27 (BTA)—The results of a public opinion poll conducted by the Bulgarian Fair Elections and Civil Rights Association show that a great number of respondents have decided to vote for the Union of Democratic Forces—30 per cent. The supporters of the Bulgarian Socialist Party are 19 per cent, of the Bulgarian Agrarian Party (United)—7 per cent, of the Nikola Petkov Agrarians and the UDF (liberals)—6 per cent each, of the Bulgarian Social Democratic Party—4 per cent, 15 per cent of respondents are still undecided, 9 per cent are not going to vote. In last year's Grand National Assembly elections 44 per cent of respondents voted for the UDF, 34 per cent—for the BSP, 10 per cent for the Agrarian Party and 4 per cent—for the Movement for Rights and Freedoms, 5 per cent did not vote at all.

President Zhelyu Zhelev enjoys the greatest approval rating—59 per cent of respondents. UDF leader Filip Dimitrov and Aleksandur Karakachanov of UDF (Liberals) are approved by 36 per cent each, Prime Minister Dimitur

Popov—by 37 per cent. Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev has received the highest confidence rating—37 per cent of respondents put trust in him.

Simeon II's comeback as king of Bulgarians is approved by 34 per cent of respondents, 32 per cent expressed disapproval.

DPS Aims at Coalition With SDS After Elections

AU2909204891 Sofia BTA in English
1945 GMT 29 Sep 91

[Text] Sofia, September 29 (BTA)—"Fight communism and its successor in Bulgaria—the Socialist Party." This was the slogan of today's rally of the Movement for Rights and Freedoms (DPS) in the village of Khitrino near Shumen.

DPS's leader Mr. Ahmed Dogan repeated that after all Bulgaria's way to Europe will still have to pass through the Bosphorus. He pointed out that despite all arguments, the DPS is a party and is regarded as a party. Its aim after the elections is to build a coalition cabinet with the SDS [Union of Democratic Forces].

DPS Denies Allegations of 'Secret Activities'

AU2909204591 Sofia BTA in English
0156 GMT 28 Sep 91

[Text] Sofia, September 27 (BTA)—At a press conference in the town of Silistra (northeastern Bulgaria) Mr. Ahmed Dogan, leader of the Movement for Rights and Freedoms (MRF), denied allegations that his organization is engaged in secret activities.

In reply to a question about the relations between the Bulgarian and the Turkish ethnic communities in Bulgaria Mr. Dogan said that they really distrust each other. According to him, after the forcible assimilation campaign launched by the communist regime, the Turks' attitude to the Communist Party spread to all Bulgarians. Mr. Dogan described this as a "psychotrauma which must be overcome" with the help of the democratic forces in the country. Mr. Dogan voiced his fears that the "leadership of the Bulgarian Socialist Party may become even more active in its campaigns against the MRF because the national problem was the Socialists' "last trump card." Commenting on the nationalists' allegations of anti-Bulgarian campaigns having been launched in the mixed-population areas, Mr. Dogan suggested that a commission of journalists and politicians be set up to investigate each individual case. Mr. Dogan said he is glad there are no sharp clashes in the district of Silistra.

As regards the expansion and strengthening of Bulgaria's international relations Mr. Dogan stated that the MRF will do its best for a sweeping change in Bulgarian-Turkish relations. Asked by the BTA if this statement means that the MRF will act as a mediator between the two countries, Mr. Dogan gave a rather vague answer but stressed the role of the minorities as a link between the Balkan countries. Mr. Dogan said with bitterness that the government institutions do not make a good use of the MRF in the field of international relations.

Commentary Discusses Radicalism in BSP

AU2809145491 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian
24 Sep 91 p 4

[Commentary by Dora Chichkova: "The Radicals Are Counted in the Fall"]

[Text] When the number of reformers in the candidate lists for socialist members of the leglislature were counted, informed sources reached five. The leader of the Kyustendil list is not included among these five, but never mind. Who is responsible for the fact that it did not occur to Ivo Atanasov to found a radical movement and write declarations instead of only articles?

It is not known what figure these sources reach, however, when they calculate the number of conservatives, or how they count them. In contrast to the radicals, not a single person has owned up to being a dedicated conservative.

Last year the reformer Dureva was nominated "from the top" but thrown out "by the grass roots." This year the top tried to throw her out, but this time the grass roots wanted her. Why this did not happen to the reformers Draganov and P.E. Mitev is a question that obviously has no arithmetic answer.

It is traditional that, when somebody loses his place in the internal party classification, people begin talking of a split in the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP]. Now that unappreciated radicals have been threatened, after the elections it will be a case of "either them or us." One well-informed party activist said in connection with this: A new party with just figureheads does not work. In his opinion, participants, at the increased number of informal radical meetings that took place before the last Supreme Council plenum in offices close to the party house, have also reached the same conclusion.

The outcome is that reformers such as Vatsev have not been put in the lists, and, after the elections, when the new group is likely to abandon the "irretrievable" BSP, he and others like him who remain will again have to prove to their suspicious fellow party members that they will not split the party.

Incidentally, at the recent BSP session, it was actually the radicals Vatsev and Vagenshtayn who called for vigilance in the matter of "radicalism." It was as if this was totally superfluous inasmuch as, as a result of both blue and red radicalism, the syndrome from the 39th BSP Congress had already been put into action, where everything that stuck out as very left or very right was liable to be axed. But who does not play it safe nowadays?

The fact that the Supreme Council did not lay the law down to the municipal party councils when they were drawing up the lists still does not mean democratic democracy. The feeling for bureaucratic games remains

at a lower level, even though it was energetically denied. The selection of candidates would have been indisputably democratic if the local party organizations had also prevailed over their superiors.

It is another question, however, whether internal party democracy will be of any great use in the future legislature, where the political parties' "national teams" will play. We have never heard of anyone selecting his national team after a nationwide referendum.

This question cropped up at the time of the plenum, but only insofar as it threw light on the public secret of the unfriendly relations between the two eminent party selectionists. For this reason, this question was quickly withdrawn from the attention of those attending the session. Thus, it will not be strange if the socialist team turns out to consist of only central attackers, defenders, or left-wingers.

In any case, the BSP will appear with its traditional image in the elections, and the question of who the reformers are in the party and who are only radicals will become clear in the fall.

West May Buy Excess Foodstuffs for USSR Relief

AU2809151691 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 24 Sep 91 p 2

[Report by Meglena Ilieva: "Bulgarian Foodstuffs as Western Humanitarian Relief for USSR"]

[Text] Several Western states have offered to purchase a large quantity of foodstuffs that cannot be sold in the Bulgarian markets and send them as humanitarian relief to the USSR. This was announced on 23 September by the collegium of the Ministry of Agriculture and Food Industry.

Japan will probably purchase 40-50 tonnes of foodstuffs worth some 200 million leva, and the EC is prepared to purchase a large quantity of pigs that cannot be processed by the Bulgarian slaughterhouses. The United States will also purchase foodstuffs.

The issue must be carefully studied because, if we open the door to exports, the domestic market could be negatively affected, Minister Boris Spirov said.

We propose to eliminate the difference in the prices between regular exports and humanitarian relief and adjust those prices to the world standard, Minister Spirov added.

Economic Cooperation With South Korea Outlined

AU3009110291 Sofia 24 CHASA in Bulgarian 26 Sep 91 p 4

[Report by Vladimir Denev: "We Will Produce Cars, Television Sets, and Refrigerators With Korea"]

[Text] The Republic of Korea will invest $15 million in Bulgaria from its Fund on Aiding and Developing the East European Countries, Minister Pushkarov said at his 25 September news conference. It is expected that by the end of the year the amount will reach $30 million and will be used for producing cars, television sets, and compressors.

Minister Pushkarov announced that two Bulgarian-Korean joint enterprises are ready to begin work. The Goldstar concern and the Consumer Electric Equipment Company in Veliko Turnovo will produce 300,000 color television sets. The project will involve $5 million.

In addition, Samsung and Klimat Company in Sofia will create an enterprise for the production of 500,000 refrigerating compressors, which will be installed in consumer refrigerators. Some $10 million has been allocated to this project. The entire project will cost $25 million. A part of this amount will be invested by Samsung.

Three other companies—Deu [spelling as transliterated], Hyundai, and Kia [spelling as transliterated] will compete with their proposals on constructing a one-tonne light vehicle in Bulgaria. Several Bulgarian military enterprises undergoing conversion are prepared to begin the production of the vehicle immediately. Minister Pushkarov stressed that Hyundai is interested in quickly establishing an enterprise for the joint production of private cars with a Bulgarian company.

Goldstar has submitted a proposal for the production of consumer equipment. An enterprise for the production of hi-fi equipment, video recorders, cassette recorders, compact disc players, and professional cameras will be created in Bulgaria.

There are two ways of guaranteeing the South Korean investments in Bulgaria, Minister Pushkarov pointed out. After its integration in the EEC, which is expected to take place in one to two years' time, Bulgaria could become a bridge between the Asian companies and Europe. In addition, because the Bulgarian companies know the Soviet market best, Korea could utilize their experience and enter tripartite joint ventures in the separate republics after the disintegration of the USSR.

Bulgaria must clearly orient itself toward the capital of the "Asian tigers" by guaranteeing them the best conditions. In conclusion, Minister Pushkarov said that a project is planned to create a Korean-Bulgarian chamber for assisting small private business and its contacts.

Havel: Bush Arms Initiative 'Very Important'

LD3009151491 Prague Ceskoslovensky Rozhlas Radio Network in Czech 1300 GMT 30 Sep 91

[Text] Republic President Vaclav Havel, at today's meeting with journalists at Prague Castle, described as very important George Bush's disarmament initiative. According to Vaclav Havel, the initiative to reduce significantly U.S. Armed Forces is a great appeal to the USSR to carry out similar steps. The Republic president described as very good the current standard of political relations between Czechoslovakia and France and voiced the wish that economic relations be as good. About tomorrow's journey to Paris and talks with French President Francois Mitterrand, Vaclav Havel said that they will be about Europe's future, European security, Czechoslovakia's association with the EC, and the ideas of European confederation. He said that the treaty on friendship and understanding between Czechoslovakia and France that he will sign is very good and emphasized that it anchors the prospect of Czechoslovakia's full membership in the EC, cooperation, and support in the deliberations about the association agreement. Vaclav Havel also confirmed that after the failed coup in the USSR, the USSR came with the initiative to accelerate adoption of treaties with Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland, and Bulgaria. The Czechoslovak- Soviet treaty could be initialled this week during Soviet Foreign Minister Boris Pankin's visit to Prague. The Republic president also confirmed that during German President Richard von Weizsaecker's state visit to Czechoslovakia, the foreign ministers should initial the text of the new Czechoslovak-German treaty.

Havel on Referendum, Alleged Resignation Offer

LD3009232991 Bratislava Ceskoslovensky Rozhlas Radio Network in Slovak 1730 GMT 30 Sep 91

[Excerpts] At his regular news briefing today, President Vaclav Havel praised President Bush's disarmament initiative and described it as a great challenge to the Soviet Union to take similar steps. [passage omitted]

As far as a nationwide ballot on a referendum is concerned, all indications are that the Federal Assembly will endorse the procedural law on the Constitutional Law on Referendum without any major problems, said President Vaclav Havel. [passage omitted]

The referendum issue was brought up many more times at the briefing at Prague Castle today. But what might be news to you, dear listeners, is the fact that Vaclav Havel allegedly offered to resign if the referendum did not take place:

[Begin Havel recording] I did not say that I would resign if the referendum did not take place. I only said that if we do not manage to resolve the issues of our constitutional organization in a peaceful, constitutional, and civilized manner, or—in other words—if we fail to fulfill the basic task that we promised our citizens we would fulfill then, like everyone else, I too will have to draw conclusions for myself. [end recording]

Amendment to Property Return Law Rejected

AU0110082591 Prague CTK in English 0109 GMT 27 Sep 91

[Text] Prague Sep 26 (CTK)— The Czechoslovak federal parliament today unanimously rejected an amendment to the law on extra-judicial rehabilitation.

The amendment sought a return of property nationalized by presidential decrees issued before February 25, 1948, but used after this date. It also provided for the return of property or compensation to emigrants who are not permanently resident in Czechoslovakia and are no longer its citizens.

The law on extra-judicial rehabilitation, providing for the restitution of property confiscated by the state after February 25, 1948, the official date of the communist take-over of the country, has been in force for nearly six months.

Czechoslovak Deputy Premier Pavel Rychetsky noted that the restitution law applying to a period of 40 years back in the past is unprecedented in the world, and said the government will seek a solution in a separate bill on Czechoslovak exiles and in compensation through securities.

Most Slovak Draftees Will Serve at Home

AU3009153091 Bratislava SMENA in Slovak 25 Sep 91 p 2

[Interview with Major General Jozef Tuchyna, commander of the Eastern Military District, by SMENA correspondent "hf"; place and date not given: "Service to the Country—at Home"]

[Text] [SMENA] The conscription date for the new draftees is approaching fast. Although we discussed this topic quite recently, how many boys from Slovakia will join units in the Slovak Republic?

[Tuchyna] The Czechoslovak Army units deployed in the territory of the Slovak Republic will be joined by 83 percent of the draftees [from Slovakia]. Only 17 percent of them will serve in the Czech Republic—in the logistics units of the Federal Ministry of Defense, CSFR Civil Defense Staff, and some specialized units deployed in Moravia.

[SMENA] What do you think of the comments made by Federal Minister Baksay on the "Week in Review" television program, and particularly of the numbers mentioned in connection with the eventual secession of Slovakia?

[Tuchyna] Mr. Baksay is minister of foreign trade. I do not know how well-versed he is in internal affairs. I would not dare to comment on the numbers, whether they are right or wrong. Regarding the Army, I would say that the number is not exact....

[SMENA] What if we brought the issue to a head?

[Tuchyna] The Army stands outside political activities; it is apolitical. Political decisions must be made by politicians. I hope that we have enough reasonable,

intelligent politicians that there will be no need to bring this issue to a head. It is necessary to use all the basic instruments, including the referendum. We do not want to use, and we resist the idea, of using force as they did in Yugoslavia. That would be a tragedy for both nations.

Calfa Views Rehabilitation, Screening Bills

LD2909104491 Prague Federal 1 Television Network in Czech 1750 GMT 27 Sep 91

["Ten Minutes With the Prime Minister": Interview with CSFR Prime Minister Marian Calfa by unidentified correspondent; place and date not given; correspondent speaks in Czech, while Calfa speaks in Slovak—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Correspondent] Mr. Prime Minister, the Federal Assembly meets this week. The government was surprised that the out-of-court rehabilitation bill was not adopted. How did it happen?

[Calfa] The bill was presented by a group of deputies. While the government was not overenthusiastic, it agreed with some of it. Therefore, we are slightly vexed that the Federal Assembly did not endorse at least the part that we thought it should have adopted. The government agreed with the increased restitutions to the people who were in forced labor corps and the idea that this categorization should be made more exact. This was one group of problems about which the government thought the amendment of the current provisions would be useful. The government agreed that a contribution should be made to the restitutions of small businesses owned by married couples who were registered as legal citizens. This escaped us in the first law. However, we think that nothing is lost because the government will work out these issues that I have just mentioned and will present to the Federal Assembly at this very session a short and a clear bill regarding these two problems. [passage omitted]

I would like to mention one more thing that is spoken of quite often: the property of those who are abroad and who do not have Czechoslovak citizenship and permanent residence in Czechoslovakia, the property of emigrants. The government thought that, in the law on out-of-court rehabilitation, we should not deal positively with this matter, in particular, because there is a difference in the legal procedure of returning the property to people who live in Czechoslovakia and in returning the property to people who live abroad and do not intend to come back to Czechoslovakia.

[Correspondent] Is this not unjust toward them?

[Calfa] Personally, I think it is not, because this is really a different legal procedure. On the other hand, the government said clearly at its session in the Tatry Mountains last week that it would try to work out the material on this matter into a self-standing legal norm and find a certain way of recompensation for this property. Here, we do not speak about justice or injustice. A different legal procedure is involved, and the government will prepare a draft on recompensing our emigrants, our citizens who live abroad. Therefore, it is not just toward us when it is said that we have done harm to these people. This is untrue. We only want to find a different legal procedure applicable to them than the one used with regard to people who live in Czechoslovakia.

[Prague TV] I would like to ask you about another bill: the government bill on screening. The Federal Assembly did not receive this bill with enthusiasm; it was even described as a law on protecting secret police members. How true is this? Is it so?

[Calfa] These are the views of some deputies. They were voiced by them.

[Prague TV] Similar views were voiced at news conferences by several political parties.

[Calfa] The government approved the bill in its current form, and the government's view is that it is possible to adopt this bill with good conscience and that the bill is still in harmony with some international agreements on protecting human rights, just on the border of being in harmony with them.

This is an everlasting dilemma. Those people caused some kind of damage in Czechoslovakia, but, on the other hand, there are international documents protecting citizens' rights to which we subscribe. We would not like to base this law on the principle of revenge. We would like it to be a law that introduces some sort of justice in Czechoslovakia. The bill is just being drafted for presentation to and discussion by the Assembly. Respectively, it is being drafted by committees for presentation to and discussion by a plenary session of the Federal Assembly. According to the information available to me, committee discussions about it have ended, and the bill will be put on the agenda of a plenary session, probably at the beginning of the next week.

[Prague TV] At its 26 September meeting, the government discussed its attitude to the draft amendment of the so-called small privatization law. That draft contains rather important changes. For instance, the government has decided to tackle what is called dirty money. Perhaps you could tell us more about it.

[Calfa] We are talking about a law that, in effect, regulates the transition of state property to private ownership. This is being done through auctions, and these have, indeed, been taking place in our country. We have now gathered enough information to enable us to draw certain conclusions. The first conclusion we have been able to draw is that the absolute application of this law has resulted in the collapse of the network of shops and services in many places. Unfortunately, the market has not been able to exert pressure to renew this network on a private basis. This is why we propose to include in this law a provision under which local representatives—in light of the fact that they must ensure that people in the given area have such a network preserved—would be

able to participate in the decisions and the work of the district privatization commissions where they would be able to present their views, which then would gave to be accepted in this regard. In other words, privatization commissions will have to consider whether their action would not result in the collapse of the network and, thereby, in the failure to meet the demands of the people in that area. The second matter is dirty money. There is a very different view on what is in fact the priority. In the beginning, we proceeded from the priority of ensuring the transition of state property into private ownership and the creation of a group of private owners, small businessmen, which then would form the basis of the new future economy. However, it has been shown that this notion was a bit naive. We do not want to use a law to check money used in auctions. However, we have proposed that the finance minister have the option of issuing a procedural decree, but the whole procedure of checking money used in auctions will as yet have to be thought out in cooperation with banks and the finance ministers of both republics. The third matter that is also substantial is the so-called Dutch auctions. Our experiences have shown that, in many instances, prevailing instances, prices have been manipulated downward; therefore, we have reached the conclusion that we will get rid of Dutch auctions and have proposed that they be dropped. If the property fails to be privatized in the first round of privatization procedures, it should go to the second round. If it fails again, it should be included in the so-called big privatization. A proposal was also made to admit foreigners to the first round of privatization. It is generally assumed that foreigners use our people to act on their behalf. Nonetheless, we believe that there are areas—especially border areas—where a Czechoslovak citizen would not be able to compete at all. Therefore, we want to create conditions to enable a Czechoslovak citizen to start a small business. Therefore, we believe that the decision that foreigners be excluded from the first round of privatization was a correct one, and we have confirmed the correctness of that decision, and we are not proposing any change in this respect. [passage omitted]

[Prague TV] Yesterday, the government also discussed the pressure on it from train drivers demanding that Minister Nezval be recalled. What do you think about this issue?

[Calfa] [passage omitted] This is not pressure on the government; this is pressure on the president of the Republic, because a minister is to be recalled or appointed by the president of the Republic. It is impossible for us to work under the pressure of someone demanding that the president of the Republic recall or appoint the minister before 1800. This strike is unequivocally a political strike; it is being assessed as such. [passage omitted]

We will not introduce or set loose a mechanism of political strikes in Czechoslovakia. We refuse such pressure; we refuse to work under such pressure.

[Prague TV] I must take this opportunity to ask you about your view on the future of our Federation and the issue of a referendum.

[Calfa] I think the future of our Federation is a Federation to be reached through a referendum, i.e. through such a form that gives our people an opportunity to express their views about what kind of a state they want. As far as the first part of the question is concerned, I think that our people will be in favor of this form of a state.

Miklosko Discusses Status in VPN, KDH Ties

AU3009091991

[Editorial Report] Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak on 25 September on page 9 carries a 2,800-word interview with Frantisek Miklosko, chairman of the Slovak National Council (SNR) and member of the Public Against Violence (VPN) leadership, by Julius Gembicky and Alena Melicharkova entitled "A Historic Moment Repeats Itself For the Third Time." The date and place of the interview are not given.

The interview opens with a question about Miklosko's "work in the secret church at the time of dissent." Miklosko says that his involvement with the "secret church" started with participation in weekly Bible reading and discussion meetings during his studies at the Faculty of Natural Sciences at Comenius University in Bratislava. His "first troubles" with the authorities started in 1979, Miklosko says, "because of the organization of exhibitions of banned artists." During the years of "normalization," he was active in an underground group called "Community of Current Services," together with Jan Korec, the present cardinal, S. Krcmery, and V. Jukl. The group was "supplying reports to the Voice of America and Radio Free Europe and publishing samizdats." One of them, a periodical called NABOZENSTVO A SUCASNOST (Religion and the Present), was published by Miklosko together with Jan Carnogursky and Martin Lauko. However, Miklosko's "main work" in those years was "the organization of the youth." In 1988, together with Jan Carnogursky, he also organized the "candlelight demonstration" for religious rights in Bratislava, which led to his arrest.

Another portion of the interview concerns Miklosko's stand on internal VPN issues and his own status in the movement. It reads:

[NARODNA OBRODA] Whereas at the time of the elections, the VPN was a movement associating a large number of well-known political personalities, these have gradually left the Civic Movement, and today there are desperately few of them left in it. How do you view the intention to transform the VPN into a right-wing party? [Former Chairman of the VPN Slovak Council] Mr. Gal, for example, cannot be characterized as being right-wing oriented.

[Miklosko] Indeed. This is, to some extent, the source of a certain tension in the VPN. Until F. Gal's departure,

the VPN was a movement with all the concomitant signs. After Mr. Kucerak succeeded him, it was as if the VPN needed to catch a second breath. The new chairman has put his stakes on the movement becoming a right-wing party that will appeal to entrepreneurs and push for market economy. After Vaclav Klaus' right-wing-oriented party began to reap success in Bohemia, it set a certain example for the formation of something analogous in Slovakia as well. Some people saw this as a rescue for the VPN, some have been taken aback by it. Slovakia, though it is conservative in its own way, is more socially oriented, and it sees in the words—right wing—a kind of cold-blooded economic liberalism and is afraid of it. I do not hold it against Mr. Kucerak that he decided as he did. It is his personal, internal orientation and he was placed at the head of the movement at a time when it was necessary to find what we might call the movement's ideology.

[NARODNA OBRODA] How do you identify with it?

[Miklosko] If the VPN became a party, I would be facing my first great dilemma [velke rozpaky], because I would have to give myself a reply to the question whether I belong to some party or not. If I were to react as an ordinary human being, I would say that the words right wing evoke in me associations of cool Western pragmatism, for which I feel no great affinity. It seems to me that Slovakia is different and that its path is slightly different from the path of the West. The words right wing do not appeal to me that much.

[NARODNA OBRODA] It is often said about you quite openly that you not only sit firmly on the VPN chair but that you also lean toward the KDH, that you are something like the KDH's Trojan horse in the VPN.

[Miklosko] Look, I lived with the people who are in the KDH today for 20 years. They are scattered all over Slovakia. This means that wherever I go I feel at home. It might be said that I belong to the KDH in this respect. Moreover, for the past 10 years I have been in what was virtually daily contact with the present prime minister. A certain friendship has been formed. On the other hand, the liberal environment in the VPN rather suits me. For the time being I do not see any discrepancy in this. I believe, rather, that in certain situations I can serve as a bridge, allowing the coalition to find a common language. On the other hand, I am not as conceited as to believe that I am the only such bridge."

Next, Miklosko is asked to explain his views on the state setup issue. He says that he has carried "the national element" inside him since early childhood—not only due to his family background but also due to his involvement with the church. "Religious groups actually always were national groups as well," he explains. He would rather resign from his post than "suppress" this national element, he says. The SNR chairman continues: "The majority of the population of the Slovak Republic does not want to break up the republic, for the time being, but there is also a majority for the declaration of sovereignty. At first glance, there is a contradiction here because sovereignty means independence. In my opinion, a situation has come about when the Czech side must come to understand that this state is formed differently from their ideas about it. The state's foundation is two sovereign republics that have voluntarily decided to continue living together. This is some sort of a limit for me. I will tell you quite openly that, if we disregarded this now, Slovakia would be threatened with a certain political assimilation in the political integration of Europe, in which it is not ruled out that it will be entered by states [sentence as published]. Ultimately, in the merciless embrace of the Western economy and Western economic relations, Slovakia would become politically assimilated."

To prevent this, Miklosko continues, "it is necessary to create such conditions for the coexistence of the two republics that will not only declare, but ensure in the legal sense, that this will be the coexistence of two equal partners. In other words, the solution lies in a treaty between the Czech Republic and the Slovak Republic that will put the 10-million-nation and the 5-million-nation on equal footing. On the one hand, I must stress that Slovakia and the surrounding countries are interested in a certain stability. On the other hand, we realize that Slovakia cannot only show consideration for others but also for itself. It is necessary to take into account the unstable situation in Eastern countries and the intentions of their (so far) blusterers who do not hesitate to articulate their aspirations for revisions of borders. We cannot take any risks."

In his concluding reply, Miklosko draws an analogy between Slovakia's present situation and the situation in 1938-39 and 1968. The "internal disposition" was the same in all three cases—Slovakia's emancipatory ambitions on the one hand, a threat from the outside on the other, plus the Czechs' failure to understand Slovak ambitions. The 1938 attempt at national emancipation ended "catastrophically," with Hitler's "tutelage." The 1968 attempt "ended with tutelage again, this time Brezhnev's." As for the current situation, Miklosko says: "The same internal disposition is repeating itself for the third time. Slovakia has made strong emancipatory efforts. On the other hand, there is a danger posed by the disintegrating great power in the east and Slovakia's possible independence that would undoubtedly set in motion Hungarian nationalism as well. And, once again, there is Czech misunderstanding, which we are now experiencing very strongly and specifically. As long as I occupy this post, I say that it is necessary to take upon oneself the risk and to pursue one's aim—in a way that will not contain the temptation to rely on something immoral and undemocratic."

Border Guard Protests SFRY Airspace Violation

LD0110094891 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 0900 GMT 1 Oct 91

[Text] The Hungarian Border Guard has protested in writing to the competent Yugoslav authorities that they have on several occasions violated the border. Spokesman Lajos Zubek said that a shot from a machine gun hit a parked car near the Alsoszentmarton sentry post.

During the night, Hungarian airspace was again violated. The examination of this is still in progress.

Incidentally, a further 250 refugees have arrived from Yugoslavia, and with this their number now exceeds 5,500. At Dravaszabolcs, the Border Guard has caught arms smugglers on two occasions.

Border Incidents Reported

LD3009123291 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1100 GMT 30 Sep 91

[Text] The Border Guard reports that over the weekend, 870 Yugoslav citizens asked for temporary refuge in our country, while in the same period 153 returned to their homeland.

The Border Guard also reports that the weekend was not quiet in Hungarian settlements near the Yugoslav border. Shooting could be heard on several occasions, and there was a powerful explosion on the other side of the border, which was heard in Nagykanizsa and Nagyatad.

Fur, Officers on SFRY Border, Defense Program

LD3009100691 Budapest MTV Television Network in Hungarian 1800 GMT 29 Sep 91

[Interviews with Defense Minister Lajos Fur and unidentified military officers by unidentified reporter from "The Week" program; place and date not given—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Reporter] On Monday, when five Yugoslav aircraft violated Hungarian airspace, you had to take off with live ammunition.

[Pilot] Yes. That is true.

[Reporter] And what do you have to do in such a case? What do you think of then, that you might have to shoot down another plane?

[Pilot] Yes, that possibility occurred to us. I heard their radio contact in the air. I prepared the aircraft in the air for all eventualities, and I awaited further commands.

[Reporter] When do you push the button that releases the missile?

[Pilot] Only if I unequivocally get the command to do it, or if I see that a military aircraft of a foreign state is attacking Hungarian territory.

[Reporter] What did you reinforce on the Yugoslav border?

[Army major general] We had to reinforce the Yugoslav border section with radio-technology measuring points, to enable us to detect aircraft that might be violating the border at low altitude.

[Army colonel] The Hungarian Air Force is capable of deterring outside attack. On the other hand, it has to be recognized that these technical means, in their present state and numbers, are not capable of ensuring longer battle activity. They are suited for defense, and that is our task.

[Fur] Our new military defense basic principles very clearly lay down that the Hungarian Army has only one task: the defense of the country's borders and the protection of the country's sovereignty, nothing else.

[Reporter] Since until now we did not really know what we had in the matter of defense, please tell us now. Where do we stand?

[Fur] Within the region, without any doubt, if we consider our neighbors not including Austria, our Army is the smallest in number and perhaps in firepower as well. This, however, does not mean this small Army is not able to take up a struggle with an armed force, a firepower, bigger than itself. Let me say what I have said many times already: that every attack requires a threefold surplus strength, according to military experts. Therefore, even a one-third strength is sufficient for defense in the case of an eventual aggression, vis-a-vis the armed force of the attacking side. The Hungarian Army has this, and more. The technology is mixed. It includes good things, but it also contains a lot of weapons systems that will definitely have to be replaced within a year or two, because they simply become incapable of functioning beyond a certain limit.

[Reporter] Your youngest combat vehicle is already 10 years old, and the oldest vehicle used in the Hungarian Army is 30-40 years old. What is Hungary's land defense like, in view of all this, in your view?

[Army colonel] Compared to what? If we take neighboring countries as a basis, the member states of the former Warsaw Pact or even Yugoslavia, we see day after day what kind of technology is being used by people living in (?one and the same) country when fighting one another. Compared to that, our technology is at a level identical to that of the armies in the neighboring countries.

[Fur] The weakest point of the Hungarian Army today, as everyone knows, is its Air Force. And here let me mention price. In order to be up to date, we ought to purchase at least MIG-29's or F-16's or Tornadoes. The

price of a single F-16, the Fighting Falcon [Vihar-Madar], which last Saturday flew from (Tasa), is $18 million. A MIG-29 is $22 million and a Tornado roughly $20 million. This is several billion forints just to purchase one plane, and we would need at least 100-120 such planes.

[Reporter] Can people be made to believe this in Hungary today, that the Army needs money?

[Fur] It has to be tried. I do everything I can. I would like to make use of this conversation so that people understand, everyone should understand, that defense costs a serious amount of money; it demands serious sacrifices, just as defense always has demanded. So the average citizen, together with myself, and the politicians, the leaders, too, should look at it this way: This is not money wasted; it is not money that we have spent unnecessarily, because somewhere it will be refunded, by our survival. For a people to survive in history, that has always demanded from it this or that kind of sacrifice. For the time being it only demands a financial one from us. I hope it will not demand anything else in the future. But, if necessary, we must make even the biggest sacrifice; we must even give our lives. [passage omitted]

What we should attain is that the soldier serving in the Army, the officer and enlisted man and those who have chosen this as their profession—but to a small extent the whole of society as well, the country's entire population, the nation, if you like—should by now feel defense to be their own affair. In fact, they should feel that we must be able, if necessity demands it, to defend this homeland—which has become free and independent—against every kind of outside threat or possible aggression. [passage omitted]

Horn on Events in Romania, Yugoslavia, USSR

LD2809173291 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1400 GMT 28 Sep 91

[Interview with Foreign Affairs Committee Chairman Gyula Horn by correspondent Jozsef Laszlo on the "media boat" on the Danube on 27 September—recorded]

[Text] [Horn] I too am of the view that all that is happening now in Romania is the consequence of the fact that, in this country, the processes that have taken place in most Central and Eastern European countries have not reached their conclusion. Thus, we are not talking about merely social troubles but about serious internal political contradictions, but being a judge in this is a rather unpopular, moreover, very negative role.

[Laszlo] So you exclude the possibility that was raised by the Romanian prime minister who resigned that some kind of Communist or Securitate coup attemp has taken place.

[Horn] I cannot form an opinion on this, for I do not know the situation in Romania to the extent that I can know exactly whose attempt it has been. It is, rather, about the fact that in Romania the man-on-the-street was trying to influence political decisions through rather crude means. This—that is, the fact that they try to assert their views with Molotov cocktails and clubs—cannot be approved by a constitutional party or a country operating in a constitutional manner. I am not saying it to defend Petre Roman or Iliescu, but the task of an executive power is to disperse things like this by all means. This cannot be approved by any means. And I would like to add: Similar phenomena can be expected in Central and Eastern Europe, such atrocities cannot be excluded in any country. And we have to condemn anything like this on principle, and we must not support it by any means.

[Laszlo] In the matter of the Yugoslav crisis, practically a six-party consensus was reached on the civil war. In your view, will this consensus last, or are there different opinions?

[Horn] Look, the situation in Yugoslavia is so complicated that it is natural that the positions of the six [Hungarian legislative] parties' representatives differ regarding methods. There is no difference between us regarding the basic issues. The essence is that Hungary should stay away from this conflict. It should not make irritating statements that can engulf us in this crisis. I, for instance, do not believe that we are directly threatened by the Yugoslav crisis in a way that, for instance, Hungary would be forced into some kind of military action. However, the danger of this exists potentially. What is more, certain circles there are interested in this. I think that Hungary, as a neighboring country, should have initiated either the convening of the UN Security Council or the meeting of the all-European conference earlier, weeks ago, because no one, in that case, could accuse us of having aspirations of any kind [words indistinct] regarding Yugoslavia. It is merely in our natural interests that calm and peace be present along our borders. I was of the view from the beginning that this war was not very difficult to spark off, but almost impossible to end, and I have to say, even if it sounds hard, that the responsibility resting on the community of nations is immense. Practically, they regarded the Yugoslav crisis, the war, as an internal affair in which they do not really want to intervene; they made some reluctant steps, appeals and calls, but they, in fact, ignore the fact that if the war cannot be prevented in Yugoslavia with international mediation, then it can become a precedent for the whole of Central and Eastern Europe. The following years in this region might be years of civil war, unfortunately.

[Laszlo] If we go further, this has quite definite signs in the East, that is, in the Soviet Union. What can Hungarian foreign policy or Hungarian defense do about stopping this crisis, this wave of civil war?

[Horn] I see the essence in the following: We have to neutralize the effects of the expected confrontations there by all means. One thing that we must always

understand is that the Soviet Union exists. Therefore, we must not give up reaching some kind of agreement with them. The other level is the republics, especially two of them, the Ukraine and the Russian Federation. We have to build a very wide-scale agreement network with them, for only agreements can guarantee us that. On the one hand, we can fend off the effects of the big confrontations there and, on the other hand, we can preserve the economic positions that are extraordinarily important from the point of view of Hungary's further existence.

State Secretary Katona Views Romanian Situation

AU3009103691 Budapest MTI in English 1805 GMT 26 Sep 91

[Text] Budapest, 26 September (MTI)—"Irrespective of the current events in Bucharest, a major transformation could be expected in Romania. Hungary does not wish to intervene in this process," Tamas Katona, Hungarian state secretary of foreign affairs, told MTI in Hajduboszormeny on Thursday [26 September]. (The state secretary attended a commemoration marking the 200th birth anniversary of Count Istvan Szechenyi.)

"Hungary would welcome," Katona said, "if Romania made more resolute steps towards Europe and democracy. It would be against our interests if the situation which characterised the Ceausescu era returned, and Romania became again a desperate country, casting glances of bitter hatred and hostility in all directions. This would be a tragedy for Romania, for its ethnic Hungarian community, and, of course, for Hungary."

"We know it from our own example," Katona said, "that the countries undergoing transformation have to carry out a political and an economic revolution simultaneously, if possible, 'silently'. Any program which only concentrates on the economy is doomed to failure. Nor is any political solution conceivable without economic transformation. This has to be realized by the Romanian Government as well," Katona said.

The state secretary said that just borders could not be drawn in this region of Europe. The Yugoslav example demonstrates that the modification of borders, even internal ones, is particularly dangerous. Further dangers are posed by the disintegration of the Soviet Union, Yugoslavia and, to a certain extent, Czechoslovakia, he said. Katona stressed that Hungary advocated the disappearance rather than the modification of borders.

Antall Addresses New York's Hungarian Community

LD0110063991 Budapest MTI in English 0945 GMT 30 Sep 91

[Text] New York, September 30 (MTI)—"The world has waited 74 years for the demise of Soviet communism, and the other similar systems. Now, however, that this has taken place, the West and the free world have been caught unprepared," Hungarian Prime Minister Jozsef Antall said in New York on Sunday evening.

Antall, who arrived in the United States on Sunday, was speaking to several hundred representatives of the Hungarian community in New York and its vicinity.

The prime minister noted the overly high expectations regarding the rapidly changing situation have been a source of disappointment in Hungary.

Antall said he wishes to discuss Hungarian and world political issues in the UN General Assembly, and at his meeting with U.S. President George Bush.

Hungary continues to spearhead the Central-Eastern European changes, Antall said, and recalled that in June of 1990, the Hungarian Government was the first to propose the dissolution of the Warsaw Pact, although the idea was not supported by anyone at that time. The Hungarian negotiating delegation at that time noted the need for NATO, as the guarantor of universal security, and for the presence of the United States in Europe, another factor indispensable in security considerations. Budapest likewise initiated the dissolution of Comecon without a legal successor.

The prime minister discussed the protection of the minorities living in the neighbouring countries, and said the Hungarian Government must simultaneously consider international law and democracy and take into account points of view with regard to minority protection when it passes its decisions.

Antall was accompanied by Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky, and several senior officials, Government spokesman Balazs Laszlo, and Pal Tar, the ambassador designate of the Republic of Hungary to the United States.

On Monday, Antall is to meet with representatives of the American organisation of the Hungarian Democratic Forum, and will then receive former U.S. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger. Antall will also meet senior American businessmen, and will then travel to Hartford where he will receive an honorary doctorate from the University of Connecticut.

Antall is scheduled to address the UN General Assembly on Tuesday.

Antall Notes Agreement on Aid for Soviet Union

LD0110071991 Budapest MTV Television Network in Hungarian 1830 GMT 30 Sep 91

[Statement by Prime Minister Jozsef Antall following a meeting with former U.S. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger at the Plaza Hotel in New York on 30 September; recorded]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] Jozsef Antall stated the following in reply to a question on what he and Kissinger agreed on during their talks:

[Begin Antall recording] I think that our views, by and large, coincide. I emphasized that rapid humanitarian aid for the Soviet Union, in terms of foodstuffs, consumer goods, and medicines, must be separated. Large-scale economic support must be extended only within a thought out—from the point of view of a strategic framework—and appropriate system of conditions taking into account economic, political, and military considerations.

The involvement of Hungary and the East-Central European region in this economic support—considering that these goods intended to be sent as rapid aid are bought from us—is important in the short run. In the long term, it is not in the interests of this region, because it could slow the economic transformation process that has been forced to occur. [end recording]

Bratislava Consul on Slovak Minister Summons

AU0110114391 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 28 Sep 91 pp 1, 3

[Interview with Jeno Boros, consul general to Bratislava, by Tibor Kis over the telephone from Bratislava; date not given: "Slovak Fear"]

[Text] On 26 September, the Slovak Government declared that certain Hungarian politicians—including Prime Minister Jozsef Antall—had made some statements lately that questioned the validity of the Hungarian-CSFR border. On 27 September, Slovak Foreign Minister Pavol Demes summoned Jeno Boros to tell the consul general about the Slovak Government's fears in this respect. Our correspondent in Prague telephoned Boros to find out about the meeting:

[Kis] What concrete reasons are there behind Bratislava's fears?

[Boros] The minister began by saying that they had received an enormous amount of signals on this issue in recent times and that, through this step, they, in fact, wanted to prevent a deterioration of our relations—or rather, they wanted to avoid such doubts burdening the relations between our countries at the Polish-Hungarian-CSFR summit to be held in Krakow. Demes made a concrete reference to the latest joint news conference given by Prime Minister Jozsef Antall and Austrian Chancellor Vranitzky: According to Demes, the Hungarian side had questioned the validity of the current Hungarian-CSFR border. Mr. Demes also handed over a letter on this matter addressed to Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky.

[Kis] How did you react to these accusations?

[Boros] I said that it was regrettable that they should hold a news conference on this issue in Bratislava without even consulting the official Hungarian organizations. This is all the more incomprehensible because everyone knows that relations between Demes and Jeszenszky are very good, as are relations between the Slovak Foreign Ministry and the Hungarian Consulate General in Bratislava. Furthermore, I stressed the fact that the Hungarian Government, on the basis of democracy and relevant international documents, condemns the forceful modification of countries' internal and external borders. As far as the concrete complaint was concerned, I gave the minister the valid minutes of the things that were said at the aforementioned [Antall-Vranitzky] news conference: The minutes clearly show that the complaints are unfounded.

[Kis] Is this Slovak step an indication of a deterioration in our bilateral relations?

[Boros] I do not think that this automatically follows from the meeting. In any case, the atmosphere was definitely very friendly at our meeting, and the minister made several gestures toward Hungary. Among other things, he thanked the Hungarian Government for the fact that ethnic Slovak children living in Yugoslavia had recently been able to travel through Hungary to Slovakia without any formalities. Furthermore, he offered to personally take care of the Hungarian cultural center in Bratislava, because he is himself dissatisfied with the current location of this center.

[Kis] In that case, how can the forceful Slovak complaints be explained?

[Boros] If we start looking for the reasons, we cannot ignore the developments in the CSFR's domestic situation and the tensions in Slovakia. I would also refer to the fact that, among other things, Slovakia has raised objections to the basic treaties being drafted between the CSFR and Germany, and between the CSFR and the Soviet Union.

Alliance of Free Democrats Leader Resigns

LD0110111691 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 0700 GMT 1 Oct 91

[Text] Janos Kis is resigning as head of the Alliance of Free Democrats [SZDSZ]. The chairman told the members of the legislative faction of his decision at the weekend, but the information was only made public today by NEPSZABADSAG. Ivan Petoe, SZDSZ faction leader, in response to a question by radio's "Morning Chronicle," confirmed the news, and did not refute the report that Peter Tolgyessy is the most likely candidate for the succession.

Janos Kis justified his decision by saying that he still does not want to be a legislative deputy, that henceforth he wants to take a more active part in shaping the policy of the SZDSZ, and that even within the party itself his activity has been questioned more than once.

Labor Minister Kiss Views Unemployment Issues

AU3009093691 Budapest UJ MAGYARORSZAG in Hungarian 26 Sep 91 p 6

[Laszlo Doczy's report: "Minister Gyula Kiss' News Conference—Unemployment Benefits With More Justice"]

[Text] "The government continues to guarantee unemployment benefits; a modification of the employment law has become necessary to better assert the principle of justice, and not because the Solidarity Fund is not enough"—Labor Affairs Minister Gyula Kiss said at his news conference on 25 September.

According to the ministry's plans, the duration of unemployment benefits would be reduced to one and a half years from the current two years. The maximum unemployment benefit would be reduced to twice the amount of the minimum wage (14,000 forints today) from three times the amount of minimum wage (21,000 forints today).

Gyula Kiss confirmed that the number of unemployed reached 251,000 at the end of August this year, and it is expected to increase to 300,000 or 320,000 by the end of this year. This increase in unemployment continues to be caused by the collapse of our Eastern markets, because the jobs of almost 500,000 workers depend on these markets.

The county labor affairs centers received 60 percent of this year's Employment Fund; 1.5 billion forints were saved from the additional 2.5 billion forints, and this saved amount increases the Solidarity Fund. About 1 billion forints are allocated to financing various tenders, like the road construction and maintenance program jointly set up with the Transportation Ministry. The payments into the Solidarity Fund must be increased from the current 2 percent to 4 or 6 percent, as originally suggested by the Labor Ministry. However, the employees will continue to pay only up to 1 percent into the fund. There are problems in fulfilling the payment obligations on the part of the employers: So far, more money has been collected from the 0.5 percent paid by the employees than from the 1.5 percent paid by the employers. Our general goal is to see to it that the Solidarity Fund works as a guarantee, but this cannot yet be achieved in 1992 and, therefore, budget support will still be needed in 1992.

The ministry will set up regional retraining centers to ameliorate the unemployment situation. The first among the planned eight to ten such centers will begin operation in Miskolc in October. The ministry wants to set up a fund in the area of Ozd that will be engaged in retraining people who lost their jobs and also in providing them occasional public utility work. Hungary received $150 million to develop its human resources; out of this sum, the Labor Affairs Ministry can use $60 million.

The government has adopted the new Labor Code bill but, taking into consideration the results of the six-party agreement, the government will submit an "A" and a "B" version to the National Assembly, which differ from each other in the articles referring to the activity of enterprise councils and trade unions. In harmony with the Interest Coordination Council, the Labor Ministry would welcome the introduction of these laws as early as the beginning of next year.

The draft limits the government's authority on several aspects: In the future, the conditions of work will be mostly determined by an agreement between employers and employees.

Industry Minister Bod on Energy, Arms Industry

AU3009133291 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 26 Sep 91 p 10

[Interview with Minister of Industry and Trade Peter Akos Bod by Antal Andrassy in Veszprem; date not given: "Hungarian Industry in An Interim Phase"]

[Excerpts] Minister of Industry and Trade Peter Akos Bod recently visited Veszprem, where he met with students and became familiar with their work. Our correspondent interviewed Bod on a few topical issues: [passage omitted]

[Andrassy] Our great chemical industry enterprises and research institutes are going bankrupt, one after the other. Our alumina industry can only keep going if it introduces some rather severe staff reductions. Is this only an interim phase?

[Bod] It is not an interim phase in the sense that we no longer need the mediocre quality that has also come to characterize these industrial branches. However, it is an interim phase in the sense that the downward spiral that we are witnessing at the moment cannot last for ever. An economy under transformation is like a car going from second into third gear. A slowdown is unavoidable in the interim period—but that does not mean that the engine has stopped.

[Andrassy] Nevertheless, many people think that the "engine" in our energy industry "stopped", and particularly in coal mining.

[Bod] I would definitely not call the energy industry a crisis branch. I think that even in Hungary, it is a branch that has prospects. Enormous changes have been introduced, new organizations have been formed, and with the law on concessions, new actors will appear on the Hungarian market. It is now also becoming natural for us to appear on the world market. Allow me to refer to oil extraction, to the high level of expertise needed to extinguish fires on oil fields and so on. As far as coal mining is concerned, we undoubtedly have to close several deep pits because they have become unprofitable.

However, that certainly does not mean that we have to abandon Hungarian mining as a whole. [passage omitted]

[Andrassy] Today we can clearly see that most of Hungary's arms manufacturing industries are on the decline—although we do not like to talk about this. Is this also a transitional phase?

[Bod] I do not see it like that. Naturally, the fact that Hungary is no longer a member of the Warsaw Pact has given rise to a new situation. We no longer deliver arms to the great bloc. What we imported in the past, we will now have to produce or procure ourselves. Naturally, that does not mean that our military industry will be larger than before, but we are faced with a new situation and our industry policy will have to adapt to this. We will have to devote greater attention to the military industry of those small nations that do not belong to any bloc, so to speak. Products of quite a high level have been manufactured in some of these countries, including Switzerland, Austria, Sweden, and Israel. Given that these countries are playing an increasingly significant role in international issues, cooperation with them could be quite beneficial for us. One of the declared aims of my upcoming visit to Israel will be to further cooperation.

[Andrassy] Will we be purchasing arms from Israel?

[Bod] A certain form of cooperation cannot be excluded. We can also develop some form of cooperation with NATO countries. Furthermore, given that the military industries of the former socialist countries are in roughly the same boat, I could well imagine closer military industry cooperation between the CSFR, Poland, and Hungary.

EC To Grant 8.7 Billion Forints for Reforms

LD0110063291 Budapest MTI in English 1741 GMT 30 Sep 91

[Text] Budapest, September 30 (MTI)—A grant of 8.7 billion forints from the European Communities will be given to Hungary based on six agreements, said Hungarian Ministry of International Economic Relations State Secretary Laszlo Bogar at a press briefing today.

The support is the largest granted by the EC to Hungary under the Phare programme of financial support so far.

The legal background for the support came from Hungarian Minister of International Economic Relations Bela Kadar in charge of coordinating the Phare programme in Hungary. Kadar authorized the relevant ministers to sign the actual agreements appropriating the money.

According to the agreements, 4 billion forints will be allocated to economic reforms, restructuring and privatization, 1.3 billion to agriculture and the food industry, and 1 billion forints for promoting research and development cooperation between Hungarian and EC organizations.

Antall Responds to Radio Chairman's Remarks

LD3009145691 Budapest MTV Television Network in Hungarian 1600 GMT 30 Sep 91

[Interview granted by Prime Minister Jozsef Antall to unidentified "The Week" correspondent on 28 September; place not given—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Correspondent] Mr. Prime Minister, you leave behind a rather stormy domestic public life when you depart tomorrow morning. The chairman of the radio [Csaba Gombar]—concerning your submission of the list of deputy chairmen—stated that the submission of this list of names is a crude interference with the life of the radio, that he had not really been consulted by you, and that they feel that with regard to the radio, democracy is in danger.

[Antall] [passage omitted] There are statements, sharp criticisms made against the administration—a direct or indirect presumption of this direct criticism is, for example, that freedom of speech, freedom to criticize is insufficient in Hungary. Well, he who hears and who reads these remarks cannot take them seriously. It is another matter whether they are useful or not. Csaba Gombar, in addition to the appointment of deputy chairmen, uses the phrase "crude interference" in referring to the approval of the organizational rules [szervezeti szabalyzat]. The government must approve the organizational rules of both the radio and the television. It is not only the right, but also the duty of the government. [passage omitted]

What happened is simply a statement of fact that neither the radio nor the television has approved organizational rules because their chairmen has not submitted—even after a number of requests—such organizational and operational rules that would have satisfied all conditions. [passage omitted]

I think that this whole issue is, by and large, an inflated problem. There is not one country in the world in which the issue of the deputy chairmen of the radio and television would be treated as a constitutional rights related question or a problem representing other big tensions. [passage omitted]

[Correspondent] What is the relationship between the two top leaders of Hungary?

[Antall] Disputed issues that need to be resolved in the presidential and the prime ministerial functions may arise. I do not consider it correct for such an issue as the relationship between the head of state and the head of government to be perceived as if they were chasing each other round a table and quarreling or arguing over such issues [words indistinct]. We have a relationship that befits responsible politicians, and I think that the Constitutional Court, too, must take a stance in such an issue because it is not a personal matter between Arpad Goncz and myself, but one that needs a decision irrespective of our persons. [passage omitted]

Defense Minister Denies Troops To Go to SFRY

AU3009134991 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 26 Sep 91 p 1

[Unattributed report: "No Polish Soldiers to Yugoslavia"]

[Text] "Poland is not sending military units to Yugoslavia," Vice Admiral Piotr Kolodziejczyk, minister of national defense, stated firmly to a group of journalists. They had asked him to comment on a statement for RZECZPOSPOLITA by Foreign Minister Skubiszewski about sending Polish troops to Yugoslavia. Skubiszewski had said after his return from the Vatican that "Poland advocates the sending of peace forces to the area of fighting," and that "on account of our experience in the work of the Peace Corps, we are ready to participate in a similar operation on Yugoslav territory."

"The Defense Ministry was never consulted before that statement was issued, and no one in the state leadership has considered such an eventuality," Kolodziejczyk said. "Since the beginning of the conflict in Yugoslavia, there have been only two military observers there." The minister also denied rumors that Poland is selling arms to the warring sides in Yugoslavia. "We have investigated this claim and have not discovered a single instance of arms sales," said the defense minister.

Hungarian Defense Minister Discusses 'Open Skies'

LD0110082891 Budapest MTI in English 1736 GMT 30 Sep 91

[Text] Warsaw, September 30 (MTI)—Another "open skies" agreement, similar to the one between Hungary and Romania, is now being discussed by Hungary and Poland, Hungarian Minister of Defence Lajos Fur said after talks today with his Polish counterpart Piotr Kolodziejczyk.

The open skies agreement allows the countries to fly aircraft over and monitor each other's territories.

"If there are enough states to join in," Fur said, "we could create open skies above Europe."

A joint Hungarian-Polish test is to be conducted within the framework of the open skies, which will serve as a basis for further cooperation, Kolodziejczyk said.

According to Fur, the military agreement signed in March 1991 between the two countries is an important contribution to European stability. The sides agreed significant results have been achieved in a number of spheres already, and discussed possible ways of expanding cooperation.

Regarding Hungary's possible membership in NATO, Fur said the time was not yet right.

Slovak Delegation Visits, Urges Cooperation

LD0110052691 Warsaw PAP in English 2031 GMT 30 Sep 91

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 30—A delegation of the Slovak National Council, headed by its chairman Frantisek Mikloszko, arrived in Warsaw on Monday for a three-day visit paid at the invitation of Sejm (lower house) Speaker Mikolaj Kozakiewicz.

Meeting with chairman of the Sejm's Foreign Affairs Committee Bronislaw Geremek, Mikloszko said: "The triangle, that is cooperation between Poland, Hungary, and Czechoslovakia has improved our situation in Europe, but one should consider whether it would not be advisable to change the triangle into a square," and explained that Slovakia would want to become a full-pledged member of such alliance.

During talks with speakers of the Sejm and Senate, Mikolaj Kozakiewicz and Andrzej Stelmachowski, members of the Slovak delegation spoke on the future of the Czechoslovak Federation. "The next two months will be decisive for the shape of the federation," said Mikloszko who expressed an opinion that seperatist tendencies are greater in Bohemia than in Slovakia.

Arms Plant Workers Planning Strike 'Next Week'

LD0110052791 Warsaw PAP in English 2230 GMT 30 Sep 91

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 30—The Solidarity all-Poland Protest Committee in arms-producing factories resolved in Skarzysko-Kamienna, central Poland, on Monday to start a strike action next week if talks with Poland's president and the government presidium do not take place by October 5.

Leader of the committee Wojciech Markiewicz said that the union-government agreements on defence industry signed in Warsaw in mid-February had not been implemented nor principles for organizing production in the plants had been made known.

The Defence Ministry owes 1.5 trillion zloties (nearly 140 million dollars) to the arms-producing plants and the delay in payments has paralyzed production in most of them, unionists claim.

Meanwhile, Solidarity members in the aircraft factory in Mielec, south-eastern Poland, decided to continue the occupation of the management office started on September 16 as today's talks with a government delegation proved inconclusive.

The strike committee assessed the government proposals on restructuring aircraft industry as too general and unsupported by financial measures. The committee

demanded clear government guarantees on implementation of repair programmes in four leading aircraft factories, credits for current production, government commissions for the production of military planes, and solutions to unemployment problems.

In another development, the protest committee of indebted farmers in Zamosc, eastern Poland, who have been on a hunger strike for two weeks now, resolved on Monday that one person would join the protest every day until talks with government begin. Today nine indebted farmers were fasting, two of them were taken to hospital.

In the central city of Lodz several hundred pensioners staged a demonstration in protest against the deteriorating living standards. They demanded a lowering of rents and charges for running water as well as a curbing of price hikes on food and industrial articles.

As the tense situation continues to prevail in the tractor factory in Ursus, outside Warsaw, the spokesman for the Industry Ministry said on Monday that decisions on a future of the plant, which is on the verge of bankruptcy, might be expected on October 1.

KL-D Leader Views Future Coalition Options

PM2709101291 Wroclaw SLOWO POLSKIE in Polish 20 Sep 91 p 3

[Interview with Lech Mazewski, Liberal Democratic Congress Main Board deputy chairman and adviser to Premier Bielecki, by correspondent Marek Jurkowski; place and date not given]

[Text] [Jurkowski] You are a candidate to the Sejm from the Poznan constituency, contending for this post with Tadeusz Mazowiecki. Does this mean that the Liberal Democratic Congress [KL-D] intends to bring about a confrontation between the views of the former premier and the leading ideologist of the liberal orientation?

[Mazewski] I specialize in the fields of constitutional law, political systems, and regionalization. It seems to me that these issues will be of considerable interest to residents of the Wielkopolska region. Regarding Tadeusz Mazowiecki's candidacy, we actually did hope he would stay in Warsaw and, in line with his position as former premier, run against the current head of government. Mazowiecki clearly decided, however, to choose the constituency where he previously won the highest number of votes in the presidential election. In any case, he announced at the latest convention of the Democratic Union that he would not in fact represent Wielkopolska as a deputy, but that he was only running in Poznan in order to win the seat and to be a deputy for all Poland.

[Jurkowski] How do you assess the KL-D's chances in Poznan in this election?

[Mazewski] I have just concluded most illuminating talks with a delegation of Wielkopolska businessmen, which opened my eyes to the fact that there is a considerable demand for a party to represent the interests of the emerging middle class. The past two years of the "capitalist revolution" conducted from the top echelons have resulted in the emergence of a new social stratum in certain parts of the country, a stratum that provides a firm base for the continuing pro-capitalist transformations. Private capital must begin to replace the expiring state manufacturing sector. This is precisely why it is necessary to create favorable conditions for economic development, even if this were to be achieved partly at the expense of the anti-inflation policy. We must be aware that success for the medium-scale business will also mean success for the state as a whole. The mechanism of this dependence is obvious: If private business prospers, the economy will develop faster; this will bring tax revenues from the developing business sector, and this, in turn, will augment the funds in the state budget.

[Jurkowski] In that case, would you like to meet with Tadeusz Mazowiecki in order to compare your respective views?

[Mazewski] Of course I would. I am convinced it would be a most interesting meeting. In my opinion, Tadeusz Mazowiecki represents a Poland belonging to the intelligentsia, whose time is just now coming to a close. That Poland has held mental and political sway over the life of the country for the past 100 years. It led the nation not only in the sense of providing its voice of conscience, but also in the sense of setting certain behavior patterns and models. Whenever I talk about these matters, I am usually accused of plotting a "holocaust" of the Polish intelligentsia. But I must insist that I want to see entirely the opposite happen here. In the course of the transition to the capitalist system, all the intelligentsia groups should be incorporated into the new middle class. The only difference will be that these groups will adopt a new professional orientation: Their patterns of behavior will thenceforth be determined by market rules.

[Jurkowski] This would seem to suggest that the models promoted by the post-Solidarity left-wing orientation ought to be abandoned.

[Mazewski] Yes, it should be a natural process. The basic formulas of Polish policies are now changing. The era dominated by the myth of the intelligentsia—a myth that was used to provide the license to rule the nation in the intelligentsia's name—is coming to an end. Nevertheless, we must extract from it its most valuable characteristic: political involvement. Today I would rename this as the virtue of public-mindedness.

All the while, however, we must remain aware that the configuration of our world has been altered and that a new political and social entity—the middle class—is now entering the Polish stage.

[Jurkowski] Assuming that the Democratic Union will obtain a parliamentary majority (a possibility suggested by opinion poll results), do you admit the possibility of forming certain coalition alignments?

[Mazewski] Of course. After all, nothing that we have been discussing here can be implemented by a mere 10 percent parliamentary majority, because I believe this is the proportion of parliamentary seats we will secure. I am convinced that a majority Sejm coalition will be set up within 2-3 months. This will bring together deputies representing the Democratic Union (who are expected to gain about 20 percent of all seats), the Center Alliance group (15-20 percent), and the Liberal-Democratic Congress, which will operate as a liaison group, as it were. The coalition must be prepared to cooperate with Walesa. Any other configuration could bring about a highly dangerous slide toward authoritarianism, with no majority in parliament and with Walesa in a dominant position.

[Jurkowski] Do you believe there can be a compact between the Democratic Union and the Center Alliance?

[Mazewski] They will just have to find a common ground. The advantages of this will be obvious. If Poland is to develop under conditions of democracy, such a configuration is vital. The program to set up real capitalism in Poland is simply not viable without the protection of political backing.

[Jurkowski] You forecast a future political coalition that would include Lech Walesa. What is the KL-D's attitude to the president?

[Mazewski] The Liberals are most certainly not enamored of Lech Walesa. Their pact with him will be based exclusively on political exigency. I perceive Walesa as the only president able to assure and safeguard a thorough institutional transformation of the system. This is the right role and the right place for Lech Walesa. What we want to enter into is in the nature of so-called "pacta conventa": an agreement that is not in writing, but nevertheless clearly affects the direction of the changes to be made in Poland.

[Jurkowski] How do you see the KL-D's future, considering that as a politician you are said to disagree with the Liberal Democratic formula of the Congress?

[Mazewski] It is true that I disagree with the formula, because I am aware that we are now confronted with a historic challenge to build a new system in Poland, a system to be composed of three elements: a market economy, a novel democratic state structure, and decentralization. If we attempt to meet this challenge on the strength of the Liberal Democratic Congress alone, we will necessarily remain a small party commanding, at most, 10 percent of public support. The KL-D must redefine its positions and declare itself a party dedicated to the establishment of democratic capitalism in Poland. Liberalism may be perceived by some as a system operating on three levels; that is, those of the economy, politics, and the sphere of culture and ethics. I must stress, however, that in my definition liberalism can operate only on the first two levels. The third level, that of culture and ethics, is definitely out of the question. If it did apply, it would indicate a liberal integration tendency, which precludes the creation of a major political force representing the interests of property owners, because the latter have a wide range of views on culture and ethics. We must respect their Catholic faith and their attachment to tradition. If we fail to do this, they will leave our ranks. As a Catholic attached more to the traditional values, I myself see no reason why I should make an effort to espouse cultural liberalism that in its West European dimension (that is, as represented by the Liberal International), comes very close to the definition of socialism. After all, the German Christian Democratic Party was created precisely by merging the Christian doctrine with liberalism on the terms I have mentioned.

Three weeks ago, at a session of the KL-D Main Board, we debated the question of whether or not we should join the Conservative or the Liberal International. To my great delight, all 22 members present at the session voted in favor of the conservative organization. I believe this is a step in the right direction.

[Jurkowski] Who would be entrusted with the task of setting up such a center-right group?

[Mazewski] I maintain that the KL-D stands a very good chance here, but we will have to move in the direction of such groups as the republicans, the Democratic Union's right-wing orientation, or the liberal and Christian democratic tendencies in the Center Alliance and the Christian Democratic Party. These are elite groups that at present lack substantial public support and, consequently, would stand a better chance if they all joined forces. Everyone who sets as his goal the building of democratic capitalism in Poland should be welcome in this party.

Such a political structure must be set up in Poland and, unless the KL-D does it, the initiative is likely to be seized by the Center Alliance or one of the groups related to it.

If only Bielecki were firmly persuaded that he represents the new middle class, he would defend his positions in parliament perfectly well. However, neither do we have a real representation of that particular group in parliament, nor—paradoxically—has Polish capital perceived a threat to its own interests in the attack launched against the premier. Inevitably, the difficult moment arrived when it turned out that there was no one there to offer support to the government.

We should make a much greater effort to clarify to private businessmen and entrepreneurs how we and they are linked. We could, for example, cite Deputy Ryszard Bugaj, who insists that income taxes should be raised to 60 percent, and make it perfectly obvious to them what this means. Here I perceive a good opportunity for action for our political elites.

SdRP's Kwasniecki Views Composition of Sejm

PM3009132691 Wroclaw SLOWO POLSKIE in Polish 21-22 Sep 91 p 3

[Interview with Aleksander Kwasniewski, chairman of Social Democracy of the Polish Republic (SdRP) Supreme Council, by correspondent Waldemar Chudziak; place, date not given]

[Text] [Chudziak] You are a keen tennis player. Do you play only with your political allies, or also with your political antagonists?

[Kwasniewski] It varies. I try not to apply political criteria when choosing my tennis partners.

[Chudziak] Jaroslaw Kaczynski claims that your party has been playing a game alongside the Democratic Union in the Sejm forum, and says that he finds it astonishing. Are you equally astonished to hear that claim?

[Kwasniewski] Looking at Mr. Kaczynski, I cannot help coming to the conclusion that he himself will benefit greatly from more sport and less game-playing. Regarding both the present and the next Sejm, our main criterion for making any assessments of that institution and its operation should be not who is making power deals with whom, but where we can find common ground for agreement on all substantive issues. We do not differ from the Democratic Union in our vision of a democratic state system. In this sphere we find opportunities for cooperation with the Union both now and in the future. On the other hand, for example, regarding economic issues, our opinions are very similar to those held by Solidarity. There should be more alliances of this kind—alliances based on convergent programs—in the Sejm, and I certainly hope we will see more of them being established.

[Chudziak] Deputy Gil came out recently with an accusation against your party, claiming that the SdRP was involved in certain deals with the KGB. Is that correct?

[Kwasniewski] Deputy Gil's allegation represents a case of particularly vicious slander. There have been no contacts whatever of the nature suggested by Deputy Gil. There was a time when, if you wanted to damage someone's reputation, you would claim that he was a CIA agent. We are now suspected of having cooperated with the KGB. The truth was different then and it is different now. It is sad today, in a democratic Republic, to see Deputy Gil reaching for weapons that belong in an armory dating from a throroughly disreputable past.

[Chudziak] Would you have resorted to making such claims without solid proof?

[Kwasniewski] Deputy Gil is bluffing. Certainly, a meeting took place with the USSR vice president, but no one could have predicted then that the latter would shortly be exposed as a villain. At the time, Yanayev also held meetings with our Sejm and Senate speakers, not to mention archbishops. Could they have foreseen that one year later, he would lead a political coup? You just cannot treat seriously an accusation that claims we met with a person who later turned out to be a bad character.

[Chudziak] So far the election campaign has been limited to various political parties and groups criticizing the government's policy but, as a rule, failing to offer an alternative strategy. The SdRP is behaving in a similar manner.

[Kwasniewski] We criticize the government because we are an opposition party. There is nothing unusual in this. Moreover, election campaigns are always based on the exposure of the incompetence of the authorities currently in power. I am surprised at something else: The government is criticized also by groups that have their own representatives in the same government. Mr. Maziarski's comments on the government's work are so highly critical that they leave you with the impression their author has forgotten that his own party, the Center Alliance, has its own people in the very same government. Frankly, this is absurd. On the contrary, while criticizing the government, the SdRP at the same time proposes certain realistic solutions. It is a mistake on the part of the present cabinet to adhere to implementing the Balcerowicz plan out of doctrinal fidelity. Poland's entire economic policy must be altered so that emphasis can now be placed on different areas. The economy must begin to develop vigorously if it is to provide new jobs and new sources of revenue to the state budget, remembering that it is from the latter that the state must finance all social welfare provisions for its citizens.

[Chudziak] There is no question that it must do so, but how can it meet the demand?

[Kwasniewski] We propose a change of the tax system entailing a departure from the present unfair treatment of state enterprises whereby the latter are burdened with incomparably higher taxation than that applying in the case of other forms of ownership. It will be a question of abolishing the "popiwek" law [tax paid by enterprises on wages above the normative limit] and creating a motivational wage increase system tied in with production increases; stimulating investment through cheaper loans; and finally, restructuring industry—a proposal about which much is being said and nothing being done. The future of many branches of industry must be reviewed and the relevant sectors must be informed of the decisions in advance. Finally, it will be a question of activating the housing construction sector, which could play the role of a flywheel giving the necessary impetus to the rest of the economy.

[Chudziak] How would you activate the housing construction sector?

[Kwasniewski] It must be stressed, first of all, that the housing construction sector must not be treated as an element of the state's social welfare policy. Nevertheless, we must not bow down to the idea that a house or an

apartment is just another kind of a free market commodity, so highly priced that most people cannot afford to buy even a few square meters of living space. The first thing that must be changed here is the interest rate on housing loans—both for enterprises involved in the actual housing construction business and for individuals who want to buy an apartment. Favorable terms and conditions must be also provided for housing construction and renovation within the public housing system.

[Chudziak] Can the SdRP claim the moral right to play the role of a fiercely critical opposition?

[Kwasniewski] What do you mean by "moral right"?

[Chudziak] Your predecessor, the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR], has put much effort into demolishing the economy.

[Kwasniewski] True, but time goes on, and today we could equally ask whether the Democratic Union has the right to voice any criticism. In a year's time the same question can be asked of the Liberal Democratic Congress. It would be wrong to maintain that the past two years have been an unbroken stretch of misfortunes and disasters in the economy. After all, we can also boast positive developments. It is equally irresponsible to pose the thesis that the past 40-odd years were no more than a long, continuous process of economic murder. The SdRP refrains from launching an indiscriminate attack on and criticism of the government. We avoid equally the demagogic style and the bleakly pessimistic outlook. We can still claim an advantage over other political groups, simply because we have had more practical experience than others. We tend to view the nation's political and economic life much less naively. For this reason our proposals are better balanced and not couched in terms bordering on the symbolic and the miraculous. Every party that attempts to make people believe the economy can be restored to health from its present economic collapse within a year or two is simply lying.

[Chudziak] If your contacts with the working people are as close and as good as you claim, then you must be only too well aware of what people think of politicians, of how disillusioned and dispirited they have become.

[Kwasniewski] The new Sejm will face three major tasks immediately: introduce a new constitution; prepare an economic program that will stimulate production; and restore credibility to a whole range of state and public structures such as the Sejm, the government, the office of voivoda, the president, and so on. This cannot possibly be accomplished without matching the right people with the right positions. I have always said that being a politician is just another occupation, like a barber or a baker. You must have the tools of your trade and you must have the ability and the competence to use them. Unfortunately, we have very many talented amateurs in Poland occupying responsible state posts. For this reason we must strive at all costs to place true professionals in the new Sejm, people who will be capable of changing the whole image of our parliament. We certainly do have plenty of suitable candidates, including such Lower Silesia personalities as Kaleta, Szmajdzinski, or Zych. I would be most happy if I could see that the public can respect the new Sejm as a parliament in which deputies and political factions are no longer at odds with one another, and in which members no longer hurl invectives at each other across the benches, but which constitutes a rationally operating body capable, if necessary, of achieving a sensible compromise. Then we will at last be able to restore public confidence in Poland's state and public institutions.

[Chudziak] Thank you.

Roman Analyzes Events, Defends Position

AU3009140291 Bucharest Programul Unu Radio Network in Romanian 2100 GMT 29 Sep 91

[Interview with Prime Minister Petre Roman by director of Romanian Television Broadcasting Information Department, name not given; in Bucharest on 29 September—recorded]

[Summary From Poor Reception] [Interviewer] "Mr. Petre Roman, you have granted several interviews to Western television studios, most of them, if not all, over the telephone, because you did not want to or were unable to come to the television studio. Now television has come to you, and I personally think that we have taken a certain risk because I know the reaction of certain people and of some of my close colleagues. I have an avalanche of questions, and I do not know whether I am going to stick to a logical suggestion, but first I would like you to explain a confusion on formalities: How should I address you? Mr. Prime Minister? Mr. Resigning Prime Minister? or Mr. Acting Prime Minister?"

[Roman] "I would like to know what you feel at this moment." "I do not want to refer to the beginning of your question, which conveys the impression that I did not want to come to the television studio," but "I would like you to answer my question—namely, whether you do or do not feel that things continued to operate in an organized fashion in Romania over these last few days. If this is true, it means that" I was able "to manage a government that functioned." I have to stress that "no country and no state can afford not to have a functioning government." The "government exists and operates, and I am the prime minister of this government."

[Interviewer] "I agree with you, and I have the feeling that the government did not function, and I will immediately show why this is my opinion. Our country is holding negotiations with the World Bank, the IMF, and the Common Market. These negotiations have been suspended," and the respective officials have "even left Bucharest stating that there is no one with whom to conduct negotiations. Mr. Prime Minister, where have you and the government been for three days?"

[Roman] We tried to ensure "what is called state order in Romania. I believe that this was our main duty. If the representatives of those institutions you are talking about have left," then they did so "not because there was no one with whom to talk, but because it was announced that this government was resigning and, thus, this government, which for them represented a guarantee for the negotiations, and this government that is the guarantor of the economic reform and the transition to a market economy, this government was facing great difficulties. Thus, a logical question is whether the government functioned as it should have functioned. I can say that it did function to the extent possible and where it was necessary, namely in Romania."

[Interviewer] "The government has resigned; you have given up your mandate. Later, it was announced that your resignation had been accepted. This sounds to me like a contradiction in terms. Could you explain why?"

[Roman] "This contradiction is not exactly insignificant. Giving up the mandate took place at a very difficult point in the situation in Bucharest and, as I have said, was based on the idea of paving the way toward a political solution. In my view, this was correct. However, to resign because of brutal, violent force is unacceptable for a democracy, and I am a complete believer in democracy in general, and particularly in democracy in Romania. This is what we struggled for, this is why we went into the streets on 21 December, and this is why we went into the streets on 22 December 1989, and this is why we have done all we have done ever since the office of prime minister was vested in me. Consequently, the moment in which I did not think of or expect a resignation resulted from the fact that I was under a constant barrage of information in connection with everything that was happening." The "most serious piece of news was when the minister of transportation told me that a railroad station chief was threatened with death if he did not make transport, a diesel locomotive, available to those people. This is why I believe that a resignation would have meant a resignation in the face of force, that is, the resignation of democracy in the face of force.

"Giving up this mandate is of significance and continues to be so; it has the significance of a political solution, which means the preservation, as far as possible, of a close framework of democracy. This is the fundamental problem. And, if you wish, we can continue to discuss this."

[Interviewer] "This is not the right time, but from what you have said, I can read something between the lines, so to say. And, therefore, I am going to make a sort of confession. Approximately two weeks ago, I accepted, with great doubt, the position of director of the Broadcasting Information Department of the Romanian Television, wondering whether—by noting something in the evolution of events, that is, through intuition—I would be a pawn of sacrifice on this dirty chess board, namely the struggle for power. That it is a dirty board is my personal conviction. Just a second, please. Thus, without overstating things, do you think that you have been sacrificed?"

[Roman] "No. This phrase—I am a sacrificed person—does not apply. I am the leader of the political formation that is the ruling party in Romania, and I am convinced that we will be able to ensure, together with this party—the National Salvation Front—the preservation of its supremacy; on a consistent democratic basis, however. Everything that rules out a democratic solution is abnormal, unhealthy, and means blocking Romania's development. In a democracy, you see, a government goes by two means alone: On the basis of a vote of no confidence by the parliament, or by yielding to a government that wins the elections. As you see, we are not in

this situation. Therefore, the only genuine solution is to hold elections, to take into consideration that we have to have a constitution. This is the only solution that will preserve the image of democracy in our country and make us feel that we are still in a democracy, otherwise—you know the rest—it is a move on a chess board. Therefore, my sincere opinion is that this will not be accepted by the Romanian people either."

[Interviewer] "I agree with you. You have talked about the Romanian people. Do you believe that we are prepared for genuine democracy."

[Roman] "What do you mean by prepared? We have to build it. What does it mean to be prepared? What are we waiting for? How long, when, and how do we wait for it? What did we want when we went into the streets on 20 December? To return to a different form of communism? Actually, you know, this is a fundamental problem today as well. The essential problem is the following: Shall we return to communist structures, or do we proceed toward democracy and political and economic freedom?"

[Interviewer] "Actually, the meaning of my question is: Did you by any chance force someone's hand?"

[Roman] "Force whose hand? That of destiny?"

[Interviewer] "Not necessarily that of destiny."

[Roman] "Then whose?"

[Interviewer] "Maybe people's ability to understand."

[Roman] "True, you have come up with a very important point. First, we have to understand why these events took place."

[Interviewer] "Their logic."

[Roman] "Yes. We will come to that later, and it is good to come to it. However, you have asked a question: Whether I have forced people's ability to understand. This was one of our mistakes, namely we did not explain broadly enough, openly, and in a way that is easy to understand, why and how we are carrying out this economic reform. And please, let me tell you—you were not yet the Information Department chief—that the Television studio played a negative role in this matter."

[Interviewer] "I am very well aware of the shortfalls of the Television."

[Roman] "We are, indeed, the ones who have to assume responsibility for the fact that we did not provide enough explanations, that we did not explain everything we had to, and in a way that all would understand, so that all of us understand that we are pulling at the same cart that is very difficult to move. Maybe it is not just one cart; maybe it is more than that; maybe it is a nicer vehicle, but one that is very difficult to move out of terrible mud. And all of us have to bear this burden. True, this is something we failed to do. On the other hand, however, we have to admit that both the press and television initiated very many unproductive things that caused not only harm, but also gave rise to confusion in people's minds, and, obviously, also worked to the detriment of the democratization and reform process."

[Interviewer] "I agree with you. You have said that you do not feel that you have been sacrificed. Maybe justifiably so. But did you not foresee a certain turn of events? For instance, I would like to remind you that there was constant talk of friction between President Iliescu and Prime Minister Roman, of friction between the government and Parliament, of friction between Petre Roman and the presidents of the two [parliament] chambers, of friction within the government, and of friction within the National Salvation Front. Just a second, please."

[Roman] "Yes."

[Interviewer] "Yesterday, it was simply affirmed in the Deputies' Assembly session that everything that happened had been prepared within the leadership. Could you please explain such statements?"

[Roman] "I think so. I have said this before, and I reaffirm that there has been no friction between me and the president, nothing fundamental in any event. Discussions have to take place, because otherwise the truth is not revealed."

[Interviewer] "I agree."

[Roman] "Likewise, discussions between the Parliament and government cannot be (?avoided) either. True, there have been serious differences between the government and Mr. Barladeanu, the Senate president. I would like to expand on this, because Mr. Barladeanu eventually proved that he is a man who is devoted to and believes in the typically communist concept."

[Interviewer] "I would like you to explain this."

[Roman] "Thus, some of the causes of the events that took place in Bucharest permit us to draw the conclusion that we were dealing with a communist type of movement directed by extreme leftists. Why do I say this?"

[Interviewer] "Do you think it was only of a communist type?"

[Roman] "Let us not go through these things too swiftly, please. Later, as you could see, unfortunately, some parties tried to profit from the disorder and reap political advantage. In my view, that was a very wrong thing to do, because they mortgaged their credibility and their image vis-a-vis democracy. But this is another aspect. Let me continue with what I was saying."

[Interviewer] "Please."

[Roman] "The fact is that there are problems in the Jiu Valley, as there are everywhere. There are problems that could have been solved, because it had been decided that they would be solved. I am talking of social problems, for

instance, that have not been solved because the administration delayed doing so. This led to additional dissatisfaction. Basically, however, in that area economic demands had been discussed and solved, as you well know. This is mentioned—in black and white—in the communique of sad remembrance that left us a bitter aftertaste and that was signed by the country's president, together with Miron Cosma."

[Interviewer] "Just a second, please. I would like you not to anticipate."

[Roman] "I am not anticipating, I am just talking about the causes."

[Interviewer] "Please."

[Roman] "Thus, I want to reaffirm that the demands of the miners had been discussed and solved by the government. In other words, it was not the economic situation that was at stake or that was the priority. Who brought these people to Bucharest under such circumstances? This is an issue of a different nature. If it is not of an economic nature, then it is of a political one. Who was capable of manipulating and organizing such people?" "What other important thing happened, because things are linked to each other. What has been undertaken, ever since February, in our press is a genuine campaign of slander directed against the government and the prime minister. It is full of lies, concoctions, and foul insinuations.

"We tried to respond to all this." "We affirmed that all this slander, point by point, was false and disparaging. Despite all this, it reappeared. This campaign was staged by professionals, by people who know how to do such things. You must know, disinformation services existed in the former regime. This slander campaign—which can be discussed seriously at any time, if you wish, by opening a file on each accusation in order to refute it, by myself along with the other members of the government—culminated with the three interviews granted by Mr. Barladeanu, who takes up these accusations—I do not want to qualify them. This tells us some things," namely, that in this "political text," we discern "a communist type of economic thinking, without any doubt." Thus, "what I want to say is that, unfortunately, we are dealing here with a way to manipulate people who had problems and were dissatisfied, who did not see things clearly, and who eventually unleashed an incredible wave of violence, thus causing tremendous harm at home and abroad."

[Interviewer] "Without any doubt. Thus, almost everything was directed against Prime Minister Roman and the government."

[Roman] "No. No. This is not true. You see, you shouldn't see things within the context of democratic thinking, but within the context of the political situation in Romania. This is a struggle between those who want to preserve the former structures and those who want to take Romania to democracy and to a sound economic situation".

[Interviewer] "This is what I was actually asking you. Thus, the struggle is against the reform represented by Prime Minister Roman."

[Roman] "Not only against the reform, but also against democracy," because these people seem to believe that "so much democracy is enough for us, as if democracy can be truncated, cut into pieces. This is not what the Romanian people desire. I assume responsibility when I say this. We want genuine democracy, which means a definitive democracy. However, when these structures understood that what is being done was irreversible, that the government, despite its tremendous difficulties and its inevitable mistakes, was able to irreversibly place the country on the road to democracy and economic reform, then they put into motion everything they were able to put into motion. Therefore, Romania's political configuration has to change in order to totally eliminate the possibility of such actions. And the political configuration can be changed on the basis of elections."

[Interviewer] "Thus, truth is never pure nor simple. Is this your truth about the development of recent events in our country?"

[Roman] "This is my analysis and not only mine. This is the analysis of my colleagues in both the government and National Salvation Front. I have talked about it in the Steering Collegium of the National Salvation Front, after which we reached a consensus on the mandate I have to negotiate in connection with the transition government.

[Interviewer] "Do you not think that the origin of the recent events should be sought further back, that is, in the events of June 1990?"

[Roman] "Concretely speaking, that is, if we talk about the actors of this movement, then, of course, the origin is a common one. Undoubtedly, then we were dealing with a movement that also degenerated into violence and, certainly, those violent acts had to be very clearly delimited and clarified, and those who were responsible for them had to be established. This was delayed because of the same reasons, namely, the reason that the establishment of democracy in Romania is not something that can be achieved in a matter of days and that democratic institutions do not function in a matter of days. This is a whole process of creating the necessary awareness and legal means, and of understanding an extremely simple fact, namely, that the application of the law has nothing to do with politics. If you remember, the communist thesis was that when applying the law, one actually makes politics. Well, to apply the law in a democracy has nothing to do with politics. This is a thing that needs time to be clarified."

[Interviewer] "At the beginning of our talk, you said that you had been informed about the progress of events as soon as they started. I would like to ask you: Were you

informed correctly and in time about the unfolding of events, or did you prove" some sort of "weakness?"

[Roman] "If you are talking about the information I received before these events, then...

[Interviewer] "Mr. Roman you are the prime minister, you had to be informed."

[Roman] "Thus, I want to repeat, this information that I received before the actual outbreak of the movement was confusing and inconclusive."

[Interviewer] "Do you have an explanation?"

[Roman] "Maybe, yes, but I do not want to indulge in speculation, because I still am the prime minister, and I am responsible for this, for everything I affirm in front of the country. However, one thing is clear: namely, that on Monday, when things began to happen, a clarification of the information was compulsory, namely that what was happening there was out of control and not that what was happening made my presence there absolutely compulsory, because events that are out of control cannot be mastered through a simple visit to the given area."

[Interviewer] "The press stated and wrote that the miners went to Parliament and attacked it because you and the government team were within the headquarters of the Parliament."

[Roman] "I do not know;" it "is very difficult for me."

[Interviewer] "Okay. Is the failure of the violent actions at this point really a failure? Do you think that this is due to the correct way in which the forces of the Ministry of Interior and the Ministry of National Defense acted, or is it lull before the storm rather than a failure?"

[Roman] "It is absolutely a failure, a failure that goes to the credit of the troops of the Ministry of Interior and the Ministry of National Defense, with which I was in touch every single minute—with the ministers and even with other collaborators of the two ministries—and I am convinced that they proved their commitment to state order and rule of law and, under the given conditions, they proved to be professionals. You have to admit, when facing Molotov cocktails, rocks, dynamite, clubs, and axes, it is very difficult to combat such actions."

[Interviewer] "You said dynamite. The day that the miners assaulted the Government Headquarters, I had a telephone conversation with our reporter there, and he said that the building was actually shaking because of the strong explosions. Did they use dynamite by any chance?"

[Roman] "A charge" was "put at the base of a flagstone."

[Interviewer] "Now a delicate question. What is your view about the communique issued by President Ion Iliescu and the miners' leader, Miron Cosma?"

[Roman] "I think I have said ..."

[Interviewer] "Please, please make a clear statement."

[Roman] "The situation was extremely complicated; I was not in direct touch with the president at that time; I do not know under what specific conditions this communique was issued, but I believe that it is a sad page for all of us who are thinking of what democracy and order in the Romanian state mean, and I think that somewhere we have to seek clear explanations for..."

[Interviewer] "Okay. Mr. Dinu Patriciu said that Mr. Miron Cosma is a violator of common law. How can one explain that, although the miners' leader caused a fatal accident at the end of June—I have this piece of news from ROMANIA LIBERA of 25 June—investigations are still not finalized.

[Roman] "This information is correct, but the relevant bodies have to be asked this question."

[Interviewer] "I would like to ask you whether you can see any solution in sight for the current crisis."

[Roman] "I believe that the solution would be to set up a government" that would have the task of settling things "until we reach the time of elections." "Then, through the people's will" we would have "a government that would be accepted by everybody, because currently the situation is very complicated." After the government meeting we held yesterday, all ministers have today reported on their information in connection with their contacts.

[Interviewer] In connection with the issue of the future government, "I want to ask you the following. You have been accused of authoritarianism. Then how can this current Romanian crisis of authority be explained?"

[Roman] "Authoritarianism was only an impression. I would say" that in crucial moments, a government is supposed to find solutions or issue resolutions. This is the role of the government, "but this is not authoritarianism. However, the reality is that in order to exercise its power authority needs certain instruments" and "we did not have the necessary authority" in our relationship with certain structures. "I think that our lack of ability to overcome difficulties is an objective reality."

[Interviewer] "I will remind you that in previous interviews, I reproached you for not dismantling structures at certain levels. Thus, I would like to ask you," because you are an active person, "what have you thought about that was more than you could accomplish."

[Roman] "First I think; then, I take action." "The difficulties that appeared in our country in connection with reform and legislative" bodies "were unacceptable and I want to explain why."

[Interviewer] "Please do that."

[Roman] "The economic reform and this process of changing the economic structures of our country are absolutely necessary so that we never again experience

what we inherited from the aberrant communist structures. These structures were more aberrant than in any other country. Well, this process of reforms started on 28 June, when we presented the report to Parliament. I remind you that this report was welcomed by all political forces" and "virtually unanimously by Parliament and the press too."

[Interviewer] "That is true."

[Roman] "I would like to be told in what way we have departed from this program. In no way. We have applied it exactly. Maybe we should have applied it a little bit sooner. That is exactly why I asked you whether these actions are against Roman or against the reform. They are against the reform, and I have said why. However, they are implicitly against me, because I was the person who represented this reform program" and worked it out "with my team." "Thus, the problem is: If we have not departed from this program, if we have applied it the way we promised and the entire legislative framework of the reform has been achieved step by step," then we tried to ensure "the convertibility of our currency—and this we had to achieve"—and if this was accepted, "then what is this campaign of slander against the reform in every way and the claim that it brought about trouble and so on and so forth? Have we ever claimed that this reform would bring happiness and prosperity all of a sudden? No, never." One can "again read the report of 28 June, the report of October 1990, and the report of February 1991. As a matter of fact, the report of February 1991 speaks about great difficulties in implementing the reform. Then, in February I said, if this is the way things are, if a certain mistrust has emerged, let us proceed to elections. I said it in February. I said it in February 1991." "I was optimistic, but not as far as my own person is concerned. I was optimistic, believing in the political movement that generated the reform, that is, the National Salvation Front. I believed, and continue to believe, in its ability to win elections and govern."

[Interviewer] "Let us return to the problem of the future government of national unity or national opening, as you wish. There are more options. A government of technocrats, a government made up of politicians, an independent prime minister who is a technocrat and a politician vice prime minister? So I would like to ask you most directly: Are you a technocrat or a politician?"

[Roman] "I am a politician because I am the leader of a political party with which we started off and we won elections. No doubt about it. That I was considered to be a technocrat at the same time as well is another matter. That I even succeeded in being a technocrat is also another thing that is worth mentioning. It is certain that I must be and remain a politician."

[Interviewer] "My question has a hidden meaning. Do you believe that we have now, today, real politicians and technocrats, if you compare them to similar persons in the Western democracies?"

[Roman] "This is an absolutely normal and logical question, and my logical answer should evidently be that we do not yet have" enough people to speak of. "I will tell you why. On the other hand, the assessment of our position with regard to true democracies must be done only by taking into consideration what democracy really means, the substance of democracy, what the substance of reform really means, and not only toward the real political state that we inherited and we tried to overcome. In other words, do we have politicians who are capable of leading the political process in Romania today? This is the correct question, in my view. Well, I believe the answer is yes. Because otherwise this country would not be what it is—by anyone's standards, an important country in a European context, and particularly in this region. Otherwise, this country would not be a country with important democratic traditions, traditions it used to have before World War II. It is impossible not to believe this. I not only believe in it, but I have concrete examples to support it."

[Interviewer] "No, thank you. You said that you do not wish to be part of a government team. Do you still maintain this view, and if yes, why; and I would also like to ask you whether you are disappointed."

[Roman] "I want to repeat it. From a legal point of view, the position of this government is extremely fragile. However, it has an important mission. If it is confirmed by the Parliament, that is through the understanding of various political forces but of the FSN [National Salvation Front] in particular, which has not lost its role as the most important party in Romania." "We were talking here about opinion polls. All polls show that the FSN is still four or five times stronger than the strongest party." "Thus, to return to your question, we should measure our forces where, indeed, it is worth doing so, that is, in the elections. I cannot believe that a government that has fallen under such undemocratic and antidemocratic circumstances could continue to include a prime minister who has been considered (?fully legitimate). It is a question of dignity."

[Interviewer] "I have understood. And now, I am approaching the end of our interview. How do you view the influence of these events on our relations with democratic countries, with the West, with the specialized bodies?"

[Roman] "This is perhaps the most unfortunate side of the immediate stage, as a result of the events. All the signs are very bad—blockage, suspension of aid, delays in assistance and other things. We must very rapidly resume this democratic process in order to give the international community, and primarily the European community, but in general the international community, the image that we are in the middle of a stable, democratic process. As far as I am concerned, I would like to contact—that is to make direct contacts—with important institutions and governments, and after things calm down and a transition government is set up and the political evolution becomes clear, then I will try to stop this disintegration, which is done in such an obsolete way."

[Interviewer] "Mr. Prime Minister," "I believe that the great majority in the West seems to feel sorry for what is happening to you. How do you explain the fact that it did not extend to us in time any assistance and did not help us to ensure more adequate social" conditions.

[Roman] "Yes. I explain this through the fact that the West received very confusing political signals from Romania. Maybe, our capacity to eliminate undemocratic structures was not adequate, and the elimination process took too long. However, it is certain that their reaction should have been exactly the opposite. They should have supported us much more, because our involvement in establishing democracy and carrying out the reform was very remarkable and absolutely genuine and true."

[Interviewer] "And a last question, if you permit me:" In your opinion, why do you believe "the Bucharest residents joined the miners' actions or did not even react?"

[Roman] "They did not join the miners' actions, and I believe this is very important. However, they did not react too obviously. People were even talking about a certain apathy. And you should know that this was perhaps the deepest reason for anxiety for me in these past days." The implementation of "the reform brought about a certain justified dissatisfaction. However, I have not disappointed people as far as prospects are concerned or hopes that were born from it. The polls did not show that we are in such a difficult situation. The last polls showed that 51 percent trusted us, compared to 34 percent of those who mistrusted us. This was still a very good thing. Why this apparent apathy? And I think I found the answer."

[Interviewer] "Please tell us."

[Roman] "I believe that the Romanians are fed up and worried about national disunity, and they cannot react to anything," not even "to the idea of national unity, of nation, and homeland. This is the true subject of the country at this moment. When we are able to tell the country everything, the way the people should be told, I am convinced that" things will be understood.

[Interviewer] "Permit me another question. You did not [word indistinct] at all during the interview, and I am convinced that you do not even have a reason for it. So I would like to ask you whether you are still maintaining your optimism?"

[Roman] "I am an optimist by nature, and I believe that everything that you do in this world is worth doing only with dignity. And if we combine these two, then" that is where I stand.

[Interviewer] "Thank you very much, Mr. Prime Minister."

[Roman] "I thank you, too."

President Iliescu Addresses Romanian Forum

AU3009001491 Bucharest Programul Unu Radio Network in Romanian 2000 GMT 29 Sep 91

[Report on remarks by President Ion Iliescu at a meeting with the Preparatory Committee of the Forum of Romanians and People of Romanian Origin, held at Elizabeth Palace in Bucharest on 29 September—recorded]

[Text] [Unidentified announcer] President Ion Iliescu held a meeting with the Preparatory Committee of the Forum of Romanians and People of Romanian Origin at Elizabeth Palace at 1900 today. The Forum was initiated by the [word indistinct] Romania and various figures of the cultural and scientific life in Romania and abroad, as well as by citizens of other nationalities who are of Romanian origin.

Our reporter Dragos Ciocarlan also informed us that, before the meeting with the Romanian president, the Preparatory Committee of the Forum of Romanians and People of Romanian Origin decided in Sinaia to convene the Forum of Romanians and of People of Romanian Origin in May 1992. A series of recommendations and organizational measures also were adopted in Sinaia, and these measures will be presented to Romanian communities in various parts of the world. The importance of reestablishing normal ties among Romanians everywhere and all those who belong to Romanian cultural life was emphasized.

The meeting held tonight at Elizabeth Palace was attended by Prime Minister Petre Roman and other members of the government.

After greeting the members of the Preparatory Committee of the Forum, President Ion Iliescu said that he would like this meeting to have been held under quieter circumstances and that this week's events originated from the difficulties of our country.

In the first part of his statement, President Ion Iliescu characterized the period before the social explosion of December 1989 as a period of profound social-economic and political crisis of the entire system, with an economy based on a simple and outdated view that proved to be wrong.

President Iliescu also said:

[Begin recording] Those of you who knew Romania before, and many of you who were in Romania immediately after December 1989 and the beginning of 1990 as well as during this year, can see very well how things have changed in Romanian society. There is a change in the character of the people, mainly in the areas of personal freedom and democratization of social life. I believe that Romania, in less than two years' time, went through fundamental and radical changes. We have made substantial progress, and we travel and must

continue to travel resolutely on that road. There is no other way than the road of liberating people, liberating the individual, liberating creativity, and promoting and stimulating the initiative of the individual within the society and creating some democratic structures, which are specific to a state of law.

This is what we try to do, and I can say we have taken decisive steps on this road. We are in the final stage of drafting the new Constitution of our country. This Constitution has a completely democratic structure and can be compared with any of the most advanced modern constitutions. Professionals and specialists in constitutional law who visit us appreciate the content of this new Constitution [Roman's voice is heard interrupting "and modern, too"], which is in accordance with the new modern tendencies in the field of constitutional law. Likewise, the state's democratic institutions have been established and are functioning, the power in the state has been defined, and its institutions are fulfilling their duties. I believe that, from this point of view, the country's Parliament has demonstrated the maturity of this democratic institution.

On the one hand, there was a moment of weakness on behalf of the forces of order, and the deputies justifiably criticized this weakness and the incapability of the forces of order to stop these rebel elements form entering the Parliament. At the same time, however, perhaps this weakness demonstrates the meaning of a dignified democratic institution. I can say that the Romanian Parliament and the Deputies Chamber deserve our appreciation for its stand and for the way in which it did not let itself be intimidated by force. On the contrary, it imposed the respect that one of the major institutions of the state of law deserve. [applause]

This proved that democracy acts, exists, and functions. It has life, it has power, and it can make its presence felt. It is not through force, violence, or primitive instincts that we will improve things, but through the cooperation in a democratic climate of all constructive forces of Romanian society.

The most difficult problems, however, are the economic problems. We have started off on a difficult road, the road of building these new mechanisms and putting them on new economic bases. Here things are much more complicated. On the one hand, we are fighting the consequences of these difficult structures of the old economy, with capabilities dependent on massive imports of raw materials, materials requiring foreign currency and capacity for payment that we do not have.

Our relations with the Soviet Union and the other neighboring countries, which were CEMA members, have deteriorated. All those countries face great difficulties; production and deliveries have been reduced in all of them. The move to the use of hard currency and the replacement of barter with many-sided exchanges created difficulties in carrying out deliveries among these states. In addition to this, we are a country with a very developed petrochemical industry—that is, we have full-dimensioned development of a number of branches, in terms of capacity and quantity: 35 million tonnes to a national production of 7 million—that is, it requires an import of over 25 million tonnes annually [figures as heard]. This was done mostly from Arab countries and the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union reduced deliveries of oil and gas and the Arab world has done the same. Iraq, to us from this point of view, meant another blocked source.

These relations also deteriorated because we had a supercentralized, mechanical system of distributing financial and material resources from the center, and everyone was waiting for everything to come from the center. Everyone wanted this system to be dismantled. When it disappeared, however, everyone liked the freedom of deciding on what they have, but, when they need raw materials and financing, they wait to be given things. That is the source of the conflict with the government, which cannot give as it did in the past. Thus, these mechanisms are created with difficulty, and these economic difficulties are an obligatory purgatory for all these countries—not because someone wishes it to be so but because these are profound processes. From this point of view, the picture is very simple: In our country, all kind of accusations appeared, from the right and the left, from the inside, and even from the government party itself, saying that the government is not capable of solving problems. I agree, any government can be criticized. A government can never do anything right. No doubt this is a government that assumed for itself a difficult task. I say now and I said it from the beginning, even before the electoral campaign, that, in such social and economic crisis, those who assume the task of government assume great responsibility and great risk. The government that assumed this responsibility assumed a great risk and showed great courage in daring to start off on such a difficult road. The only hope was the support of the people and the necessary understanding of our difficulties, and of the need that we all must make efforts. But, as you can see, people's ways of thinking are different. I do not want to condemn anyone because one can understand people who face difficulties and suffering.

I held talks with miners. There are objective causes at the basis of those people's complaints. They confront difficulties such as increased prices, poor supplies in shops, local difficulties such as inertia and bureaucracy of the administrative apparatus and economic and commercial apparatus. All these are added to the problem of the simple person when he sees that his wages are insufficient and he has many children. His money is not enough, and he cannot find what he needs in the shops. The bread is not fresh, as the miners said, medical care has deteriorated, and so on and so forth. All of these certainly provoke trouble, and all of them share a general bitterness, with the general lightning rod always being the government. Who else could be blamed for everything that goes wrong in a country if not the government?

If something good happens, too, it is not always the government's doing. If things do go wrong, then it is always the government that is blamed.

I say that, beyond these real problems, this unilateral criticism and the explanation of all difficulties only through the mistakes of the government proves either meanness or bad faith or the lack of understanding of processes. If things were so simple, we could set up a new government. We hope to set up a new government, however, which should have more openness and strength,, and, from this point of view, should obtain greater support from all levels of society. If everything ended up at the government, then things would be simple. We eliminate the government, and the next day everything would be fine. But, if we look around to all the other neighboring countries, they changed governments and they had elections in various stages over the past two years. Have their difficulties disappeared? Countries such as Poland and Hungary have received massive aid. Poland received $25 billion in two years, Hungary $ 2 billion. What is the situation of their economies? Have they succeeded in surmounting these critical phenomena in economic life? No. Thus, the processes are much more complicated.

We, in these two years, have been kept in a state of permanent suspicion and mistrust. Unfortunately, the events of the past few days created certain blockages. What we succeeded in building over a year with the International Monetary Fund, the IBRD [International Bank for Reconstruction and Development], various European bodies, all that is blocked again.

I can say that everyone, the entire international community, should reflect a little more on these things. Stability or instability in Romania or in any East European country, in Europe in general, is not only an internal problem, the problem of those in power in that country, but also a question of general European stability. These discriminatory attitudes and this reticence showed throughout this period in the economic assistance....[changes thought] We have asked for nothing else. We have asked for nothing free of charge. We have asked only for access to credit at financial institutions and openness in economic relations with other countries. I want to repeat: We have not found the necessary understanding. I believe that what we saw has not been the proof of great political wisdom in approaching these subjects.

That is why we reiterated our difficulties. Without active international cooperation, these difficulties are increasing, not only to the detriment of the Romanian economy or our stability but also to the detriment of European stability and the international situation in general.

I wanted to give you this rapid review and to express these few thoughts connected with the events we are witnessing. We have lost neither confidence nor hope [word indistinct] individual fate of some of us. In reply to those who say that we cling to power, I can say that it is not greatly satisfying to be in power when the situation is so unsettled. As I said, this is a great responsibility. We do it for only one reason: the feeling of responsibility for the country. We received a mandate, and we are duty-bound to fulfill it. As to whether we do it better or worse, those who granted us this mandate should judge us. This mandate does not have such a long term, and only in a democratic way can this be judged. The electorate should have its say. Will there be more capable or better people? No one is hurt. This is the rule of democracy, and this is the game of democracy. At each electoral confrontation, the electorate, those who grant their mandate to people for the country's representative forums, has the full right to have its say.

Some political forces try to proceed in a different way. There are nostalgic forces, which look backward. Others pretend to be progressive but act with antidemocratic methods, like this Civic Alliance, which wants to represent Romanian society but which works for the dismantling of democratic institutions installed in a democratic way. To resort to antidemocratic methods to overthrow those in power through force and interrupt a mandate of certain democratically elected bodies is not the democratic way. It is a shame to bring such a platform to the political life of a country. It compromises itself, and it is disqualified from the very beginning as a nondemocratic force that goes against the democratic current in the country. [applause]

With this, I would like to thank you for your presence in our country and for the warm feelings you have shown toward our country. I thank you for your intention to cooperate with Romanian institutions in order to increase these connections between Romanians everywhere. This warmth connects all of us to the country of our origin, to our homeland, to its history, and to the people that have suffered so much throughout history. These are also people who have created so much and proved to be capable of so much moral force that they could overcome very difficult moments. These are the people who created a moral structure and a character that gives them historical legitimacy as a nation capable of creativity. These ties should be strengthened because they are for our benefit and your benefit, the benefit of Romanians everywhere, and to the benefit of Romania's place in the world. I thank you and I wish you all the best. [end recording]

SRI Director Magureanu Addresses Parliament

AU3009161491 Bucharest Programul Unu Radio Network in Romanian 1015 GMT 30 Sep 91

[Speech by Romanian Information Service Director Virgil Magureanu to the joint Parliament session held in Parliament Hall in Bucharest on 30 September—live]

[Text] Ladies and Gentlemen, Parliamentarians: Under very serious circumstances, in view of the events that have taken place and that might still take place this fall,

I would like to note from the very beginning that all the events that have already taken place in the past days, that is, last week, are, on the one hand, the effect of the actions of certain forces who returned to the street to carry out anti-social actions of the greatest seriousness. On the other hand, there is a fact that is even more serious: Namely, that these forces could be joined by certain units that formerly were allies and supporters of our political regime. Against this background, the events I mentioned could become very serious.

From the beginning of this summer, through data provided by our information services, we were informed that events that were going to happen at the beginning of the Fall would be very serious. As early as the first half of August, it was suspected that we would enter a period of destabilization. It is true that there is also a complete motivation this time. As far as the complete scenario is concerned, we will have a full picture after all investigations are concluded, we hope in due time.

However, as regards the fact, a fact that I believe is paradoxical, that this time the shock battalion of the forces that attempted to dismantle through unprecedented violence the integrity of all spheres of power, this time this shock battalion included miners. I believe that this deserves a closer examination.

Since I am giving a preliminary report, I will not go into all the details. I want to say from the beginning, however, that we were warned as early as the beginning of August. The Jiu Valley miners' leader Miron Cosma called me himself on the phone and told me that a general strike would begin in the Jiu Valley because, due to some financial problem that occurred, the miners did not receive their rightful salaries. We do not know now to what extent this information was precise. The threat that they would start a general strike because of some accumulated dissatisfaction in various areas, however, is something that is worth examining.

Later, I thought this development over, and I was informed—through very recent notes that preceded these explosive actions by only a few days—that the night that they left for Bucharest, all the miners who were coming here were carrying banners directed against all the institutions of the current government.

It has not been confirmed, although I believe such a question will emerge, that the scenario that was played and carried out—in the way that unfortunately all of us know about—had any connection with King Mihai. He was not in those halls where he was reportedly seen. There was other information circulated that he was allegedly in Bulgaria, or Hungary, or in the town of Oradea, and finally that he was about to land in Otopeni Airport. That can be verified. With this, I allow myself to make a little bit of a prognosis. We are still at the beginning of a very difficult period. We are advancing at a speed—which at a certain point will become uncontrollable—toward the lowest point of our economic depression, and this will make increasingly larger social contingents turn into protest groups. This plane of generalized dissatisfaction, which is foreseeable as a matter of fact, will permit the action of certain forces.

From the information we have received so far, as this is another question that might be raised, we already have a very long list of the names of the instigators. This time, however, the scenario that was played had elements that distinguished it from everything that had happened before. First, it was foreseeable that we would enter a stage of very strong popular dissatisfaction among the largest social strata. Second, it was foreseeable that on this basis, the anarchist forces in our country would get agitated and would attempt an attack through force, something that indeed happened.

Likewise, it was foreseeable that the people's support in the favor of the government would get narrower. On this occasion, I must add the prognosis that we are only at the beginning of a very hot season. We cannot say with certainty that in the immediate future, although there is some information in this respect, that there will be more attacks involving the use of force. I would like to stress particularly the way in which we evaluate this confrontation of forces that has taken place. This time, unfortunately, it is very true that those who went out into the street hit without mercy all those who were defending social stability and were often overwhelming, as far as their force and number is concerned.

Another distinctive fact in this scenario is that those who used force against the forces of order of the Ministry of the Interior and, later, of the Ministry of Defense, carried out these attempts, these actions, without hiding them anymore. The Molotov cocktails were being manufactured very ingeniously in the middle of the street. Nobody was hiding anymore, and the list of instigators and organizers of various points where attacks were carried out is available, and certainly, it will be presented when we decide that it is appropriate to do so. This list exists.

As a matter of fact, it was almost easy to make video clip recordings and take pictures of those actions at various hot points. What do all these show? That we are only one step away from the actions of those who dispute the regime and the order in this country and who cause general rebellion, against the background of this general social dissatisfaction that I was talking about.

In a way, it was foreseeable that this state of dissatisfaction, that later degenerated through the actions of certain groups into a revolt and in the use of force, was energetically directed against the resigning government and against the prime minister.

I do not want to look for motives here behind the state of disorder and anarchy. I am just trying to explain the fact that the dissatisfaction that I was talking about was directed, later, mainly against the government and against some of the measures that it instituted. Maybe any other government formula, placed in a similar

situation of having to implement drastic reform measures, would have felt the same process of erosion. I do not want to say that we should point fingers at any of the persons who [words indistinct] in this governing. I believe that it is too early, before all investigations are concluded, to point deliberately at anyone. It is certain, however, and this is an appeal I launch to the parliamentary majority, that this governing formula that is about to resign at the moment should be drastically restructured and a change carried out, because, for instance [applause, then Martian's voice is heard saying: Mr. Cunescu, please take your seat] Excuse me, I do not want to interfere in this problem, I just wanted to...[He is interrupted again, as Martian says: Yes, it is a problem that the Parliament and the legal factors must solve. Applause follows]

Therefore, we have received information that if this restructuring does not take place, dissatisfaction of the masses and of those who work in large Bucharest enterprises and in other parts of the country will accentuate. I do not want to tell you more, because it is not our duty to... I have just made a suggestion taking into consideration the quota of threats that currently exists. That is the only thing, and there is nothing else that I wanted to say. [Martian says: Please give Mr. Magureanu the opportunity to continue his report. Martian then calls for calm.]

Therefore, as far as the miners' arrival to Bucharest is concerned, I believe that we have to pay attention mainly to two elements: first, the fact that there was real dissatisfaction there, and it was against the background of persistent economic claims that have not been fulfilled. We are not talking here only about the national government, but the local administration as well. We refer to a very serious situation as far as, for example, the dwellings are concerned, and the persistence of a poorer salary situation, taking into consideration the total population in the Jiu Valley and not just the salaries earned in the major mines there. Against this background, it was possible for things to degenerate so much that the general strike was declared, and the miners left for Bucharest—through actions that took place there systematically, but not in a particularly tacit way, among various groups in the respective mines.

In this respect, the investigation is still in progress, and when it is complete, the information will become available.

To this scenario of the miners' arrival in Bucharest, other scenarios of various Bucharest forces and groups were added, scenarios that from that moment—the morning of 26 September or better said, the morning of 25 September, that is—were carried out together. We could say that it was one single scenario played out with these forces together in various points where the respective attacks took place.

I told you that there is already a list with the names of the persons who were involved, and a list including the way in which they acted and how they carried out their actions. This list, together with other documents, is easily available in the form of a document for the Parliament and for the other bodies that will be set up and have the appropriate rights. [applause]

We are refraining from making political evaluations, because this is not our job. We only want to say that currently we are facing some critical events that can develop through the aggravation of the economic crisis and through the aggravation of certain states of people's dissatisfaction.

I want to make a note here: I warned the Supreme Council of the country's defense, before the last part of August, that there are various (?countries) and social groups trying to channel their dissatisfaction against the government, because the problem of prices has gotten out of control.

Thus, you will say again that it is a political assessment. It is not our problem, but the problem of prices was one of the moments—or better said—one of the major causes of dissatisfaction [applause], particularly because, at a certain point, it was confirmed by government officials that this problem could not be properly handled.

I, for example, can mention the following, something that can be confirmed by factors in the Jiu Valley. Some of the prices charged there were even higher than Bucharest prices. This contributed to the state of dissatisfaction. I do not believe that I should add any more to this. I would like to say, however, that if there are certain scenarios played against us now, and if they are going to develop, the major cause for such actions will be internal ones. I am awaiting your questions.

FSN Issues Proposals for Prime Minister Post

AU3009205291 Bucharest Programul Unu Radio Network in Romanian 2000 GMT 30 Sep 91

[Text] We received the following communique from the Executive Bureau of the National Salvation Front [FSN]: A FSN delegation consisting of Petre Roman and Ion Aurel Stoica and the leaders of the two parliamentary groups, Vasile Vacaru and Marian Enache, submitted to President Ion Iliescu proposals for the position of prime minister in a future government.

Iliescu briefed the delegation members on the status of consultations with other political formations. On this occasion, Roman said that the mandate he received from the FSN Steering Collegium reiterates the fact that the FSN is the majority party in the current parliamentary configuration, the party that initiated and led the democratic and reform process in our country. Consequently, it understands that any government formula must be supported by the FSN.

Charter Group Demands Dismissal of SRI Leaders

AU3009211591 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2043 GMT 30 Sep 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 30/9/1991—A communique sent to ROMPRES shows that the parties signatories to the Charter for the Reform and Democracy—FSN [National Salvation Front], Ecology Movement of Romania, Agrarian Democratic Party, Liberal Party-Young Wing—consider that the following items should be taken into account for Romania's way out of the current political crisis: The fastest possible adoption of the constitution, the organization of local and general elections in the shortest possible time after voting the constitution, the formation of a national unity government made up of political personalities headed by an independent prime minister apt to ensure the continuation of reform and the democratic process, the maintenance of the order of law as a priority of the new government and the elimination of conservative structures, of the residues of communism, the removal of the decision makers who are still linked to the communist ideology from the fundamental state institutions.

Along this line the SRI (Intelligence Service) leadership should be dismissed and the resignation of the Senate's president is required.

The parties signatories to the Charter for Reform and Democracy are resolute to back the national unity government for the country's stability, the restoration and guaranteeing of Romania's links with democratic governments worldwide and with international bodies and institutions.

Department Reviews Mining Activity Resumption

AU0110093191 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2056 GMT 30 Sep 91

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 30/9/1991—In a communique issued on September 30, the Mining and Geology Department shows that work was resumed at the mines in Jiu Valley and normal production is under way at all units of the lignite, salt, rare metals and non-metal public corporations.

Work was not resumed at the mines at Barza and Deva within the Copper Public Corporation.

As part of the lead and Zinc Public Corporation in Baia Mare, only the units at Lesu Ursului, Tarnita and the mine at Vatra Dornei work.

Now the Mining and Geology Department seeks for a clear, real and efficient solution to the claims it can handle as formulated by all trade unions.

The next days the Mining Department will complete the investment and retechnologization programme for each substance taking into account the special importance of this sector for the national economy as well as all the social problems that must be solved.

Finance Minister Repeals Foreign Currency Order

AU0110093791 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1909 GMT 30 Sep 91

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 30/9/1991—The minister of the economy and finance, Eugen Dijmarescu, makes known under Order No. 27 that, following the events in Romania over September 25-27, 1991 and their economic, financial and currency implications on an internal and international plane, starting September 30, the order of the minister of the economy and finance No. 14 of July 19, 1991 is no longer applicable.

Order 14 stipulated the obligation of state units to integrally discount the currency got from export in lei at the exchange rate in force (50 per cent official rate and 50 per cent inter-banking rate).

Outgoing Deputy Prime Minister on Resignation

PM0110113691 Paris LE MONDE in French 1 Oct 91 p 3

[Interview with outgoing Deputy Prime Minister Adrian Severin by Sylvie Kauffmann—date and place not given, first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] Adrian Severin, 38-year-old deputy prime minister for economic reforms and relations with Parliament in the Roman government, was regarded as the driving force for reform in the outgoing team. In an interview granted to LE MONDE on Sunday 29 September, he commented on last week's crisis:

[Kauffmann] How do you view President Iliescu's role during this crisis?

[Severin] I will cite Talleyrand's remark: "It's not just a crime, it's a mistake." He thought that by sacrificing the government he would put things right. That was unrealistic, because the disturbances continued after the government's resignation, and it was finally the government that ended them by deciding to use the state forces. Sacrificing the government was not only pointless but dealt a blow to the credibility of the new democracy and to the population's confidence in state institutions. It will now be even more difficult to form a strong government. Iliescu remains president. What worries me is the government's ability to continue the reforms; financial aid will be slowed down if not stopped.

[Kauffmann] Why was the decision to bring in the forces of order not taken earlier?

[Severin] Because some of us, essentially the president's advisers, thought that we could solve this crisis by negotiation. However, the representatives of the miners' trade unions were not among the demonstrators, and you cannot negotiate with people who are breaking the law.

The reservations about calling on the forces of order subsequently affected the efficacy of those forces.

[Kauffmann] What are the chances of General Stanculescu (Footnote) (Industry minister after holding the defense portfolio, Gen. Victor Stanculescu was active back in Ceausescu's day) becoming prime minister?

[Severin] That strikes me as unlikely, because the prime minister has to be approved by Parliament, in which the National Salvation Front has a majority. Many people in the National Salvation Front would prefer somebody younger, and not just in terms of age. On Saturday afternoon, the National Salvation Front leadership met and expressed the desire that the future prime minister should not be a member of the military. Unlike the grass roots, the National Salvation Front leadership, headed by Petre Roman, is dominated by the reformers.

[Kauffmann] What lessons do you draw from this crisis with regard to the reforms?

[Severin] The only lesson to be drawn is that we must not slow down the reforms but instead speed them up. The time for half-measures is over. The transition must be made as quickly as possible. We are moving from one chair to another, and the position between the two chairs is the most uncomfortable. The cost of the transition is particularly high because the reform is not rapid enough, be it in the economic, political, or social sphere. The other lesson to be learned is that you must not negotiate with people breaking the law, but only with the legal trade unions and organizations. If there is a determination to firmly use state and democratic means, then the country can be governed. The fact that the bulk of the population did not join the miners is encouraging. On the other hand, the way in which the government was forced to resign does not bode well.

Federal

TANJUG Carries Text of Army Warning to Croatia

LD0110070791 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0207 GMT 1 Oct 91

[Text] Belgrade, 1 Oct (TANJUG)—The Supreme Command headquarters of the SFRY Armed Forces last night issued the following statement:

To the President of the Republic of Croatia

To the Government of the Republic of Croatia

To the Commander-in-Chief of the Croatian Army:

The leadership and armed formations of the Republic of Croatia are completely ignoring all the cease-fire agreements reached hitherto. The agreed cease-fire is being used in order to concentrate forces and carry out attacks on military facilities and units. Barracks and other military facilties are being attacked by forces many times stronger.

Instead of lifting the blockade of military units, it is being strengthened. Water and food are being denied to members of the Army, which, according to international conventions, must be ensured to prisoners of war. In factual terms, this is a kind of genocide.

A multitude of arrogant crimes against members of the Yugoslav Peoples' Army [YPA] have been carried out. The domestic and world public are acquainted with some of these.

The families of YPA members are being abused, harrassed, persecuted, and destroyed in all possible ways.

This cannot be tolerated any more. We warn you:

1. For each attacked and overrun YPA facility, one facility of vital importance to the Republic of Croatia will be immediately destroyed.

2. For each attacked and taken garrison, vital facilities of the town in which the garrison is located will be destroyed. The civilian population is warned to withdraw in time from inhabited places.

3. As a military response to taking several barracks and other military facilities since the latest cease-fire agreement, we will launch offensive actions in part of the Republic of Croatia.

4. If wou wish to avoid further bloodshed and destruction, local authorities should immediately contact the responsible YPA commands to facilitate safe withdrawal of units with all their mechanical equipment and movable assets as well as the dependents of army members from the threatened garrisons. Monitors from international missions may also help with this.

[Dated] 1 October 1991

[Signed] Headquarters of the Supreme Command of the SFRY Armed Forces

Factory Director Denies Making Chemical Weapons

AU3009211091 Belgrade Radio Belgrade Network in Serbo-Croatian 1430 GMT 30 Sep 91

[Interview with Cedomir Markovic, director general of the Miloje Zakic factory, by Dragan Caran, reporter for Belgrade Radio program "Magazine 439," on 30 September—recorded]

[Text] During his stay in Washington last weekend, SFRY Presidency President Stipe Mesic accused the Yugoslav Peoples' Army [YPA] of using chemical weapons on civilians in Croatia. In a document entitled, The YPA and Its Involvement in Chemical Armament, Stipe Mesic directly accused the Miloje Zakic factory in Krusevac of manufacturing chemical weapons. Here is what Cedomir Markovic, the factory's director general, stated to our reporter Dragan Caran during the Magazine 439 [program] this morning:

[Markovic] I can tell you that I have been working for the Miloje Zakic factory for the last 25 years. I have been the director general of this factory for 13 years, and I can officially state that, since 1945, the factory has neither produced nor is it producing chemical weapons, and it is not equipped for such production.

[Caran] You do, however, produce some equipment for the Yugoslav Peoples' Army?

[Markovic] The factory is equipped and produces equipment not only for the YPA but also for the general public. Our equipment is meant to protect against chemical weapons, for instance: gas masks that protect respiratory organs from chemical weapons and other gasses, gloves, protective clothing, and so forth. We are a well-known manufacturer in Yugoslavia and worldwide, and we enjoy a certain reputation. Therefore, what Mr. Mesic said represents a gross misinterpretation of facts. It is a great insult for the company. Presenting such incorrect facts (?affects further successful work of the factory).

Mesic Protests Planned 1 Oct Presidency Session

LD3009181791 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 30 Sep 91

[Text] In response to a report that a session of the Federal Presidency has been convened for tomorrow by Branko Kostic, vice- president of that body, Stipe Mesic, president of the Federal Presidency, has sent the following letter to the Presidency:

In connection with an unlawful and illegal decision to convene for tomorrow the session of the Presidency of Yugoslavia, I ask you to inform all those invited to attend the session about my opposition to it. I am prepared to convene a Presidency session at any location

in Yugoslavia, providing I can reach it by any means of transport. I also ask you to inform the members of the Presidency that if for some time now the Yugoslav Army has prevented me from coming to Belgrade, it does not mean that I have not been able to carry out my duties.

President Mesic has been informed by the Federal Presidency that Vice-President Branko Kostic has convened a session of the Presidency for tomorrow, 1 October, at 1000. The Presidency states that the following have been invited to attend: the president of the Federal Executive Council, federal secretaries for internal and foreign affairs and national defense, and representatives of Bosnia- Hercegovina. The proposed agenda will focus on the political- security situation in the country, with emphasis on Bosnia- Hercegovina and an agreement on further activities in the search for solutions to the country's future.

Mesic Questions Call for Session

LD3009210191 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1757 GMT 30 Sep 91

[Text] Zagreb, September 30 (TANJUG)—Presidency of Yugoslavia President Stipe Mesic said in the Croatian capital of Zagreb today that Federal Presidency Vice-President Branko Kostic's decision to call a session of the collective head of state was not based either on the constitution or the Presidency's rules of Procedure.

Mesic told a news conference that those who show up for tomorrow's meeting of the Presidency 'will have joined the putsch.'

Mesic insisted that he could not go to Belgrade because the roads were blocked and air traffic was not open.

Calling the Presidency session, to be held in Belgrade tomorrow, Presidency Vice-President Kostic set out that he was doing so in keeping with the Presidency's rules of procedure, and specified that the session would above all be devoted to the increasingly tense situation in Yugoslavia's central republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Repeating his earlier statements about a military coup in Yugoslavia, Mesic said today, 'the putsch was staged by Slobodan Milosevic (president of Serbia), and General Veljko Kadijevic (federal defense secretary) is a prisoner of the Army and his own way of thinking.'

Mesic said that he was extremely pleased with the talks he had last week with a number of distinguished politicians and U.S. Administration representatives in Washington and with U.N. Secretary-General Perez de Cuellar in New York.

Mesic said he was particularly pleased with the stand presented by his partners in the recent talks that they would not accept the changing of republican borders, and set out that the further waging of war in Yugoslavia was therefore futile and absurd.

'It is already clear to everybody that Yugoslavia no longer exists,' Mesic set out. He said that the aggressors had been identified and specified that they were the Army and the Republic of Serbia.

Slovenia Not To Attend Presidency Session

AU3009213091 Sarajevo Radio Sarajevo Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 30 Sep 91

[Text] Janez Drnovsek, Slovenia's representative in the SFRY Presidency, will not attend the SFRY Presidency session. In his written explanation sent to the secretary-general of the SFRY Presidency, Drnovsek stated three reasons that he will not come to the session scheduled for tomorrow.

The first reason is the closed air traffic between Slovenia, Croatia, and Serbia. The second reason is the fact that tomorrow's session was not called by the president of the Presidency. Considering that activities in connection with the forthcoming expiration of the moratorium and the proclamation of the independence of this republic are currently under way in Slovenia, Drnovsek states that he is preoccupied with this and that he does not have time to go to a session of the SFRY Presidency called in such a way.

Presidency Session Opens in Belgrade; Mesic Not Present

LD0110100591 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0943 GMT 1 Oct 91

[Text] Belgrade, 1 Oct (TANJUG)— At about 1000 a session of the SFRY Presidency began in the Palace of the Federation in Novi Beograd.

According to the Presidency's information department, Vice President Dr. Branko Kostic is presiding over the session. Dr. Borisav Jovic, Dr. Vasil Tupurkovski, Bogic Bogicevic, Jugoslav Kostic, and Sejdo Bajramovic are attending the session. Stjepan Mesic and Dr. Janez Drnovsek have not come to Belgrade.

Also taking part in the Presidency session are the federal secretary for internal affairs, as well as the deputy federal secretaries for national defense and foreign affairs.

TANJUG on Agenda of Presidency Session

LD0110110791 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1029 GMT 1 Oct 91

[Text] Belgrade, 1 Oct (TANJUG)—The political and security situation in the country is the main topic at the SFRY Presidency session which started in Belgrade this morning.

As TANJUG has learned from the Presidency's information service, according to the agenda, members of the collective head of state will discuss their further work in connection with the search for a solution for the future of Yugoslavia.

Apart from this, the Presidency's members will discuss a bill on financial sources for certain national defense needs in 1991.

Federal Prime Minister Ante Markovic is not attending the Presidency session, although he was invited.

Because it was intimated that the Presidency would particularly examine the political and security situation in Bosnia- Hercegovina, representatives of that republic—the president of the Presidency, the president of the Assembly, and the prime minister—were invited to attend the session, but they did not come to Belgrade today.

Bosnia Proposes Presidency Session in Sarajevo

LD0110001791 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2156 GMT 30 Sep 91

[Text] Sarajevo, September 30 (TANJUG)—The Presidency of the Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina today proposed that the session of the Yugoslav State Presidency, scheduled for tomorrow, be held in the republican capital of Sarajevo.

The Presidency of Bosnia-Hercegovina believes that the rules of procedure of the Yugoslav Presidency should be respected, and under these rules, only the president of the Presidency can call sessions of the body, says a statement issued by the republican presidency.

The information office of the Yugoslav Presidency today confirmed that a session of the collective head of state is scheduled for 9 o'clock tomorrow morning (1000 GMT).

The session has been called by Presidency Vice President Branko Kostic, in keeping with the rules of procedure on the work of the Presidency, says a statement issued by the Presidency information office, specifying the articles under which the decision was made.

On September 26, Kostic said he would call a session of the collective head of state if the Presidency President Stjepan Mesic, the representative of the Republic of Croatia in the body, "continues to refuse to do so."

Mesic said in Zagreb today that Kostic had no right, either under the Constitution or the rules of procedure, to call a session of the Presidency.

The Yugoslav State Presidency has not met since September 7.

Kostic—No Talks Until Croatian Forces 'Crushed'

LD2909230791 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2130 GMT 29 Sep 91

[Text] Titograd, September 29 (TANJUG)—Vice-President of the Yugoslav Presidency Branko Kostic said this evening that the chances for peace in Yugoslavia would be greater if the Croatian leadership realized that it could not expect from abroad either military assistance, or support for its unilateral acts.

In a statement to Montenegrin television, Kostic warned that unless the Croatian leadership realized this, "force will have to be met with force until the Croatian armed formations are crushed, and then we shall sit down at the conference table and talk in peace."

On the clashes on the border between Croatia and Montenegro, the republic he represents on the eight-member Presidency, Kostic expressed the view that the Croatian leadership does not even contemplate launching an open attack, but is rather trying to exert pressure and have a Yugoslav People's Army (JNA) barracks moved out of the area of Boka Kotorska Bay.

Sporadic clashes between JNA units and Croatian armed formations have been taking place lately in this coastal region near the southern Adriatic resort Dubrovnik.

Kostic confirmed that the Presidency was sure to meet on Tuesday. The collective head of state has not met formally since September 7 because its President Stepan Mesic who holds the post as 'first among equals' in virtue of the annual rotation principle, refused to convene it into session as long as clashes are taking place in the republic he represents, Croatia, between its armed formations and JNA units.

At Tuesday's session of the Presidency, the leadership of Bosnia- Herzegovina will report on the situation in this republic, while the representatives of the Federal Interior and Defence Secretariats will present their views on conditions in this part of Yugoslavia, increasingly affected by clashes in neighbouring Croatia.

POLITIKA Calls for Explanation of Army Personnel Changes

LD3009152591 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1236 GMT 30 Sep 91

[Text] Belgrade, September 30 (TANJUG)—The Belgrade daily POLITIKA writes on Monday that the full truth about personal [as received] changes which took place in the Yugoslav Army in the current war is essential.

The paper says that personal changes took place at the head of many Army units, institutions and commands, but that "none was said to have been the result of possible incompetence, obstruction, or even treason."

In the Fifth Army District Command (Zagreb - Yugoslav Republic of Croatia), General Zika Avramovic has replaced General Konrad Kolsek and several generals asked for retirement, while General Petar Stipetic joined the Croatian Guard, notes POLITIKA.

General Tomislav Simovic left his post at the head of the Third Military District Command (Skopje - Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia) to take up the post of defence minister in the Yugoslav Republic of Serbia, the paper explains.

Heading the First Military District Command (Belgrade) is General Zivota Panic, until now deputy chief-of-staff in the command, who has replaced General Aleksandar Spirovski, says POLITIKA. It adds that the hitherto chief-of-staff, General Andrija Silic, also seems to have left the command.

The recent replacement of General Spiro Nikovic by General Vladimir Vukovic at the head of the Knin Corps also passed without any official explanation, recalls POLITIKA.

The paper calls "departure or the requests for retirement filed by a number of naval officers" a "personal catastrophe in the Naval District Command Split" (Croatia). It says that the same is true of the "tragic death (on Sunday) of Rear-Admiral Vladimir Barovic, who was to succeed Vice-Admiral Fridrih Moreti, retired, as chief-of- staff of the naval district. [no closing quotation marks as received]

VJESNIK Warns Nonregular Armed Units Endanger Croatia

LD3009154791 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1224 GMT 30 Sep 91

[Text] Zagreb, Sept 30 (TANJUG)—"The thesis that all those who defend the (Yugoslav Republic of) Croatia are welcome opens a wide manoeuvreing, political and military space to various bigger or smaller groups, non-regular armed troops (but also political) groups, which are all increasingly endangering the fate of Croatia, the Zagreb daily VJESNIK writes today.

In a commentary entitled "Extremists," the daily says that this "dangerous exposure of the fate of Croatia to arbitary solutions - in a combination with almost street-level but at least emotional political moves - is at this moment beginning to seriously undermine both the peace in Croatia and the democratic political legitimacy of Croatia's politics."

"Not even the smallest unit of non-regular troops may be allowed to feature in Croatia's defence forces. Just one single non-regular Croatian soldier at this moment makes Croatia's political option just as non-regular, increasingly on the domestic but primarily on the international plain," concludes VJESNIK, which generally reflects the views of the republic's leadership.

Army Stations 'Massive Reinforcements' on Border

AU3009124591 Paris AFP in English 1245 GMT 30 Sep 91

[Text] Belgrade, Sept 30 (AFP)—The Yugoslav Army was poised for a renewed offensive in Croatia as it stationed massive reinforcements on Monday on the border of the breakaway republic.

A convoy of 400 army vehicles, including 60 armoured cars and dozens of trucks transporting soldiers and canons arrived on Monday from Belgrade in Sid, a Serbian town only six kilometres (3.5 miles) from the Croatian border.

The column, stretched out over 80 kilometres (50 miles) along the Belgrade-Zagreb motorway, was loudly applauded as it went through the outskirts of the capital Belgrade and through the villages in the northern Vojvodina region before reaching Sid around 7:30 a.m. (0630 GMT).

The arrival of military reinforcements was seen as an indication that the Serbian-dominated army was planning a new offensive to break the blockade of federal garrisons in eastern Croatia.

The radio station for the Croatian capital Zagreb said this would be in the region of the towns of Vinkovci and Vukovar, 30 kilometres (18 miles) from Sid and where Army troops have been holed up surrounded by Croatian forces.

"We're going to help our comrades in Croatia," said a Yugoslav tank officer with the convoy in Sid. He refused to identify his destination or mission, however.

In Gibarac, only a few kilometres (miles) from Sid, an artillery unit with a dozen truck-mounted Stalin organ multiple rocket launchers had taken position in a corn field.

A ceasefire agreed on September 22 was not being observed. In fighting Sunday night in Nijemci, 19 kms (12 miles) west of Sid, Croatian forces suffered two dead and a dozen wounded, Croatian Radio said.

There was also mortar fire Monday near Osirek, some 30 kilometres (18 miles) north of Vinkovci.

Further towards the center of Croatia, federal planes dropped napalm bombs in the region of Nova Gradiska, the Croatian news agency HINA reported.

There was mortar and heavy artillery fire near Zadar on the Adriatic coast in western Croatia. People there spent the night, for the first time since the civil war began in June, in shelters.

Further south, several villages near Dubrovnik, also on the Adriatic sea, were attacked overnight from Sunday to Monday.

Meanwhile, a Croatian newspaper said Zagreb was well "covered" by the federal Army despite the taking by Croatian forces of some Army barracks.

The Army still has five barracks with from 100 to 1,000 men in the Croatian capital and seven more within a radius of 30 kilometres (18 miles).

Croatian forces have since September 14 seized about 15 barracks, ammunition dumps and other military installations, VJESNIK newspaper said. It said there were only from 10 to 50 soldiers at these sites.

The Zagreb-Pleso airport is guarded by 350 parachutists, from Nis in Serbia, and Zagreb itself is within range of federal ground-to- ground missiles in batteries manned by 150 soldiers.

Over the weekend the deputy federal defence minister, General Marko Negoanovic, warned that the Army would be forced to take "necessary action" if Croatian forces continued their blockade of Army barracks.

The despatch of fresh troops to the breakaway republic came as the Army was facing desertions and growing criticism of its poor state of readiness and reliance on thousands of reservists being called up to fight.

It was the latest challenge to a ceasefire which went into effect September 22 but that has been repeatedly violated, with some two dozen people reported killed in fighting in Croatia on Sunday alone. The fighting began when Croatia declared independence on June 25.

Army Said To Be 'In State Approaching Anarchy'

AU3009131591 Paris AFP in English
1227 GMT 30 Sep 91

[Report by Milan Dragovic]

[Text] Belgrade, Sept 20 (AFP)—The Yugoslav Army, weakened by desertion, protest, drunkenness and incompetence, is in a state approaching anarchy, judging from the accounts of a growing number of conscripts returning here from the front line.

Although the Army is still capable of mustering impressive columns of reinforcements for service in Croatia, the overall impression the conscripts give is one of chaos coupled with a lack of motivation for the cause against the breakaway republic.

These witnesses say that hundreds have deserted or gone over to the enemy, while others have gone on hunger strike or committed suicide. Voices are raised increasingly to oppose the offensive and to condemn what it described as the schlerotic military high command.

A Serbian reserve soldier, Milovan, aged 40, has deserted from his unit stationed on the frontier with Croatia to return to Belgrade, and does not hide the fact. "Those who sent us down there should go and fight," he says. "I don't want to die in a war that isn't mine."

In common with many deserters who do not hesitate to express their bitterness, Milovan criticises the military command for mobilising without preparation. "I haven't handled a gun for 20 years and I don't know how to use one any more," he says.

"We were loaded into lorries like cattle, without being told where we were going nor the nature of our mission. Once we arrived in the Borovo region of Slavonia, we were left to our own devices for 24 hours. Our main concern was to get our hands on alcohol. When at last weapons were handed out, half of us were completely drunk," he says.

Painting a hopeless picture of the front, he describes soldiers acting for the most time without direction and support, of officers confused by the terrain and giving contradictory or senseless orders, of ill-assorted or faulty equipment, and of blunders such as an attack by his unit on an Army petrol dump.

A Serbian reservist, Miroslav Milenkovic, committed suicide on September 20 at Sid 130 kilometres (81 miles) west of Belgrade near the Croatian frontier, the independent weekly VREME has reported. Seeing that only a handful of men was prepared to fight, he joined the recalcitrants. An officer said that he was a "traitor", so he shot himself in the head, the report said.

Press reports, which speak of "rebellion" in the Army, say that thousands of soldiers have deserted. In Serbia only half of the reservists responded to a call up, and in Belgrade only one in seven, these reports said.

Last week more than 1,000 reservists deserted from their unit to return to Kragujevac in Serbia. Questioned by Radio Belgrade on Monday, several of them roundly condemned their officers for leaving them for 20 hours in cornfields between "two nests of Ustachis (Croatian extremists)".

Officially, neither the Army nor Serbia is at war with Croatia. There has been no public call for mobilisation and legal experts have told the press that the Army's activity is "illegal". Under the Constitution, only the Federal Presidency is competent to order a mobilisation, they note. The Presidency, torn by dissension, has not met for a month.

So the Army describes those who have been called up as "volunteers", but has suddenly found that it cannot impose major penalties for breaches of discipline.

Late on Sunday Croatian television reported that a rear admiral in the federal Navy, Vladimir Barovic from Montenegro, had committed suicide despite a recent promotion because he could no longer force his men into "the dirty war" against the Croatian people.

In Belgrade, two colonels who are acknowledged experts at the military medical academy which treats soldiers with the worst wounds, have been on hunger strike for two days to protest against what they describe as the "massacre" of hundreds of young men sent into combat.

They told the BORBA newspaper that their service receives up to 60 serious cases each day, victims of a "crazy" war.

Slovenia, Croatia Urged To Remove Representatives

LD0110043291 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1141 GMT 30 Sep 91

[Text] Belgrade, Sept 30 (TANJUG)—Secretary of the Yugoslav Assembly's Commission for Legislation and Law, Radovan Sturanovic, maintains that the representatives of Slovenia and Croatia, which have decided to secede from Yugoslavia, "should withdraw from the Yugoslav Presidency."

Sturanovic says in today's issue of the Belgrade daily POLITIKA that Slovenia and Croatia have already pulled out their deputies from the Yugoslav parliament, "realizing that their continued presence there is incompatible with their decisions on 'dissociating' from Yugoslavia."

Sturanovic emphasizes that in the present circumstances "there exists a great and real need and responsibility of the federal (and all other) organs in the country to be in session continuously."

Pointing out in this context that "Yugoslavia's federal constitution does not recognize the concept of an interruption in the activities of the state Presidency," Sturanovic explains that the Presidency's vice president automatically deputizes for the president when he is visiting other countries."

President of the Yugoslav State Presidency Stjepan Mesic is currently visiting the United States, and Vice President Branko Kostic has called a meeting of the collective head of state for Tuesday.

Agriculture Minister Warns of Upcoming Food Shortages

LD3009153891 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1252 GMT 30 Sep 91

[Text] Belgrade, Sept 30 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav Agriculture Minister Stevo Mirjanic warned today that in spite of a bountiful harvest this year the country would suffer a food shortage if its political and economic situation was not normalized.

Stressing that the "war must be stopped at all costs," Mirjanic told TANJUG that "part of the country's population is already enduring a food shortage."

The Yugoslav minister for agriculture added that in the coming period "we shall see worsening shortages of certain products if the existing circumstances are not altered."

Trade Union Against Government Reconstruction Plan

LD0110044691 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1017 GMT 30 Sep 91

[Text] Belgrade, September 30 (TANJUG)—The Independent Trade Union Federation of Yugoslavia is against the proposed government reconstruction and abides by its earlier position that a new government should be formed, one that, among other things, would be more susceptible to the economic position of workers, the federation's president Moma Colakovic told TANJUG.

"Developments have convinced us that we were right in demanding the resignation of the federal government already at the beginning of this year," Colakovic said.

He warned that serious social unrest and revolts may be expected in months ahead. "Once the war is over, workers will start reacting in their own way to the situation they have been led into," he added.

Colakovic assessed that the federal government was "unprepared to build, parallelly with a democratic state, the one with all social dimensions, where the workers will not be hired labour and where the conventions on union rights will not be violated."

He recalled that the wages of about 3.5 million workers are below the average, and that 1.5 million of them receive minimum wages, the payment of which is usually overdue from two to ten months. The average wage in Yugoslavia is about 7,600 dinars (about 360 U.S. dollars according to the official exchange rate, or about 180 dollars according to the "parallel" exchange rate applied by some banks).

About 1.6 million people are out of work, and another half a million may lose their jobs due to bankruptcy threatening their firms.

International

Mesic, Separovic Meet Press on Return From U.S.

LD3009171191 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 30 Sep 91

[Text] Stipe Mesic, president of the Presidency of Yugoslavia, and Zvonimir Separovic, minister of foreign affairs of Croatia, held a joint news conference in Zagreb on their return from overseas.

Stipe Meisc, who as a guest of the United States Senate Foreign Relations Committee held talks with several prominent individuals, including UN Secretary General Perez de Cuellar, stressed that the sole topic of his talks was how to bring about a lasting and just peace in our homeland. Over there, they are all aware of the situation but can see no way out, he said. They have realized that not a single representative of Yugoslavia, from the

presidency to the government, is functioning and that Yugoslavia is, in fact, defunct. They also insist on the inviolability of borders regardless of the size of the territory the aggressors will have seized from Croatia.

The United States is aware that the Army and Serbia are the aggressors, Mesic continued, and that their leaders are driving their own youth to a certain death for their own insane goals.

In reply to several questions, he said that after the three-month moratorium had expired Yugoslav bodies might continue to exist, but only to help the process of disassociation. As those destroyed so far had shown, Croatia was not frightened of new columns of tanks. Any coffin sent back to Serbia would mean fewer votes for Milosevic, who did not seem to have changed his strategy since the notorious eighth session of the former League of Communists and was not likely to change it in future. Milosevic and, as Mesic put it, his prisoner Kadijevic are perpetuating the occupation despite the fact that the world had the means to force the aggressors to accept peace.

This was noted in greater detail by Zvonimir Separovic, minister of foreign affairs of the Republic of Croatia, who indicated the possibility of a blockade of Serbia and the occupying army and heralded imminent humanitarian aid for Croatia. The fact that the United Nations Security Council accepted the resolution on Yugoslavia, albeit without any major sanctions or plans to send a peace force, is of great significance, Separovic said. He also stressed that Secretary General Perez de Cuellar would have to submit a report on the situation in the region following the adoption of the resolution. He described the speech by United States Secretary of State James Baker in the UN Security Council as a glorious moment for Croatia's policy.

Separovic described his visit to Iceland as a great success. He said Iceland will soon recognise independent and sovereign Croatia as an equal international entity.

In conclusion, he said that after the three-month moratorium had expired, Croatia will continue along the path of independence and that the Brioni memorandum was essentially only an obstacle along that path despite the fact that both we and the European side had signed it with a great deal of goodwill.

Carrington Schedules 4 October Meeting at Hague

AU3009173891 Paris AFP in English
1724 GMT 30 Sep 91

[Text] The Hague, Sept 30 (AFP) - Lord Carrington on Monday convoked a meeting of the European Community's conference on Yugoslavia for Friday.

The call by Carrington, who chairs the conference, came as the Serbian-dominated Yugoslav Army was poised for a major action against the breakaway republic of Croatia and the failure of a number of ceasefires.

An announcement by the conference secretariat said the foreign ministers of the six Yugoslav republics would attend the meeting in The Hague, as well as Yugoslav Foreign Minister Budimir Loncar.

Japanese Foreign Minister Sends Message to Loncar

LD0110041191 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1852 GMT 30 Sep 91

[Text] Belgrade, Sept 30 (TANJUG)—Japanese Foreign Minister Taro Nakayama expressed the interest of his government for the Yugoslav crisis to be settled urgently and through agreement, using peaceful negotiations and with the support of the European Community (EC) and the United Nations.

In a message to Yugoslav Foreign Minister Budimir Loncar, Foreign Minister Nakayama particularly stressed the need for settling the problem without the use of force and unilateral decisions.

The message, conveyed to Loncar in Belgrade today by General Director of the Bureau for Western Europe and Oceania in the Japanese Ministry Jushu Takashima, underscores that the government in Tokyo will respect every agreement of the Yugoslav peoples relating to the future organization of the country.

IMF Not Granting New Credit Due to Crisis

LD0110042391 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1724 GMT 30 Sep 91

[Text] Belgrade, September 30 (TANJUG)—The International Monetary Fund (IMF) will not consider approving new credits to Yugoslavia until further notice because of the sum of developments in the country, as IMF Deputy Executive Director Zarko Trbojevic told TANJUG.

Tcbojevic, who until recently served as vice governor of the National Bank of Yugoslavia, underscored that the IMF would not raise the question of old loans "until the political decision on the fate of Yugoslavia is known."

According to Trbojevic, in the event that Yugoslavia ceases to exist, representatives of commercial banks will demand payment of credits from those Yugoslav federal units which will have the money at the time, and will "start proceedings against those which had broken away."

Trbojevic said that the IMF was of the view that the Yugoslav government "had lost control over fiscal and income policies," and pointed to the danger of monetary policy slipping control under such circumstances. This will inevitably lead to a rise in inflation, said Trbojevic.

Trbojevic added that IMF experts were of the view that two issues must be resolved in Yugoslavia at this

moment. "Foreign currency reserves must be protected at all costs," and the national currency, the dinar, must be devalued, because, said Trbojevic, it is over-valued.

Trbojevic also said that Germany, Austria and Italy had agreed, through their government agencies, to "approve credits and issue guarantees" to the Yugoslav republics of Slovenia and Croatia.

These two republics had unilaterally declared independence on June 25, following which the board of governors of the National Bank of Yugoslavia decided to exclude them from the country's monetary system.

Trbojevic warned that because of such an approving of credits to Slovenia and Croatia, there was a danger of the possible "involvement of Yugoslavia as guarantor for the taken loans," because in the eyes of financiers, Yugoslavia "was still a united country and an internationally recognized subject."

"In this way, the credits approved to these republics will be covered by their banks, but when the time to make payments arrives, and should problems arise, they will be addressed to the federation, notwithstanding the form in which it exists," said Trbojevic.

Slovenia

Slovene Presidency Views Expiration of Moratorium

AU3009212291 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1800 GMT 30 Sep 91

[Statement from the 30 September session of the Slovene Presidency]

[Text] The Presidency of the Republic of Slovenia, chaired by Milan Kucan and with the participation of Dr. France Bucar, president of the Slovene Assembly; Lojze Peterle, president of the Slovene Government; and some other officials of the Republic of Slovenia, discussed the situation in the Republic before the end of the moratorium on 7 October.

At the first session of the peace conference on Yugoslavia in The Hague on 7 September, the president of the Slovene Presidency stated that Slovenia, which had fulfilled its obligations under the Brioni Declaration, was determined to implement its full independence after the moratorium. It has been stressed at the Presidency session that Slovenia is willing to cooperate at the conference on Yugoslavia in the future, in order to contribute its share toward the peaceful resolution of the Yugoslav crisis. Beginning 8 October, however, Slovenia will participate in the conference as an independent and autonomous country that will implement all of its decisions adopted on 25 June 1991 on the basis of the will the Slovene nation expressed at the plebiscite.

As well as participation in the search for solutions that would secure peace in the present Yugoslavia, the Republic of Slovenia expects that the peace conference will resolve the basic matters concerning disassociation of the Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia and in the matters concerning the legal succession. Slovenia is willing to fulfill all international obligations, to respect human rights and liberties, and especially the rights of ethnic minorities. Slovenia is willing to develop good neighborly, economic, and other relations with the newly established states on the territory of the present Yugoslavia, but only as an independent state. In view of such a context, the Presidency of the Republic of Slovenia has acquainted itself with the measures that the Government of the Republic of Slovenia is preparing for the time after the end of the moratorium, in the following domains: the economy—particularly in the monetary sphere—the protection of the borders of the Slovene state, and Slovenia's defense. The government will report on all these matters and propose to the Assembly of the Republic of Slovenia to adopt the relevant measures at its next session.

Croatia

Separovic Rejects Idea of Extending Moratorium

LD3009194191 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1727 GMT 30 Sep 91

[Text] Zagreb, September 30 (TANJUG)—Foreign Minister of Yugoslav Republic of Croatia Zvonimir Separovic today said that Croatia would under no condition accept the extension of the moratorium on the implementation of its decision on dissociation from Yugoslavia.

Separovic told a news conference in the Croatian capital of Zagreb that "the extension of the moratorium has no justification."

The Croatian foreign minister said that he had no information which would indicate that the European Community ministers would decide that the three-month moratorium be extended. The moratorium, which covers all unilateral acts of the individual sides in Yugoslavia, was agreed on at Brioni, Yugoslavia, on July 7, when the so-called Brioni Declaration was signed.

A view similar to Separovic's was expressed today by the Croatian opposition parties represented in the republican parliament. Representatives of the opposition parties assessed that "the moratorium has produced no results so far, and aggression on Croatia continued" in the period since July 7.

Air Force Reported Using Napalm Bombs

LD3009000691 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 29 Sep 91

[Excerpts] At about 2100 this evening the occupying army stopped shelling the Nova Gradiska area from its positions at Donji Bogicevci. Since 1800 this evening, following an afternoon truce, first a sporadic and then a

more fierce attack began. The town has been shelled by several dozen artillery shells. [passage omitted]

The operatations headquarters has told us that in an air attack on the positions of the Croatian defense forces on Mt. Psunj, a military aircraft of the occupying army dropped three napalm bombs, even though these are banned by international conventions.

Medical Corps Finds No Evidence of Nerve Gas Use

LD3009222791 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 30 Sep 91

[Excerpt] The Psychological Service of the republican Medical Corps said today that it had no reports or evidence that nerve or poisonous gases have been used in Croatia. Suspicions that nerve gases had been used were not confirmed by laboratory analysis. There was no evidence that other chemical agents—apart from napalm bombs and irritants—were used, the Medical Corps Service statement says. [passage omitted]

'Crucial Battles' in Vinkovci, Vukovar

LD0110115291 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 1 Oct 91

[Excerpts] The war is continuing with full ferocity on the Vinkovci battlefield. The fighting on the eastern and southeastern front, as well as in the northern part of the Vinkovci municipality, is still going on.

By all accounts crucial battles are being fought here. The Serbian soldiery and Serbian terrorists have gone on the offensive with their powerful military potential and the simultaneous support of aircraft, as happened yesterday on several occasions. [passage omitted]

It is now obvious that crucial battles are being waged in the Vinkovci and Vukovar municipalities, with far-reaching consequences. In this situation the crisis headquarters of the Vinkovci municipality has told the republican crisis headquarters, the leadership of the republic, and the competent ministries: In view of the seriousness of the situation, concrete measures by the republican leadership, designed to strengthen the defensive line in this area, accompanied by the support of all Croatian resources potential and the whole Croatian corps, are expected.

As we report this, powerful explosions from the aforementioned battlefields are being heard, interspersed with claps of thunder accompanied by rain.

TANJUG on Bjelovar Fighting; Army Denies Plane Shot Down

LD2909222591 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2049 GMT 29 Sep 91

[Text] Bjelovar, September 29 (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav Army barracks in Bjelovar, a town in north Croatia, have been under strong attacks of the Croatian armed forces throughout the day today, TANJUG learns from military sources.

Croatian Radio reported this morning that Nova Gradisk was under what it called the "strongest artillery fire" last night.

Military sources point out, however, that the Army does not fire first and never at civilian targets. They recall that precisely in the area [word indistinct] point the army refrained from retaliating to provocations.

Also denied was a Croatian Radio report alleging that a Yugoslav Air Force plane was downed at Njemetin, and that a plane dropped three bombs on Stubalj near Sibenic, on central Adriatic coast.

According to Croatian Radio reports, fighting flared up again this afternoon in two predominantly Serbian-populated towns in Eastern Slavonija, Vukovar and Borovo Naselje, following the morning lull.

The radio reported that Yugoslav Army units had entered the Serbian village of Mirkovci and that the Croatian units in Tovarnik, Ilaca, Slavkovica, Stari and Novi Jankovci, and Privlaka are in a "very difficult" position.

All Yugoslav Navy ships have sailed out of the Vela Luka cove on the central Adriatic island of Korcula, Croatian Radio reported this afternoon.

Five warships sailed into the island waters on Friday, when the Army began withdrawing from the barracks near Vela Luka.

It is assumed that the ships were protecting the troops taking out military equipment from the barracks and depots.

The ceasefire in Dalmatia is jeopardized by frequent actions of the Croatian armed forces against the Yugoslav Army, TANJUG's correspondent reported this afternoon. The situation is particularly tense near the ports of Sibenik and [word indistinct].

Croatian Radio Reports Bjelovar Barracks Taken Over

LD2909223191 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 29 Sep 91

[Report by Ana Mudric from Bjelovar]

[Excerpts] Special units and members of other units of the Bjelovar police force today seized the Vojnovic barracks, capturing 400 soldiers and the entire command, as well as all the military equipment.

The commander of the barracks, Colonel Rajko Kovacevic, was killed. That is a summary of today's events in Bjelovar, which has come under heavy artillery and tank fire from the barracks, leaving the marks of

destruction on the town and casualties among the civilian population. [passage omitted]

In today's events, 27 persons were wounded, 15 of them seriously, but all are out of danger.

Oil Well Set on Fire Near Srijemske Laze

LD3009000991 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 2300 GMT 29 Sep 91

[Text] Fighting has been going on for the third day east of Vinkovci along the road toward Sid. Especially fierce fighting broke out this evening on the road between Djeletovci and Nijemci. Enemy infantry troops launched two attacks, but were driven back to their initial positions on both occasions despite support from tank units.

According to the Vinkovci information center, the enemy has set fire to an oil well near Srijemske Laze. As a result, the entire town is engulfed in thick, black smoke.

Large Military Column Leaves Belgrade for Croatia

LD3009072291 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 0630 GMT 30 Sep 91

[Text] More than 200 military vehicles, including around 20 heavy tanks and 30 armored personnel carriers, passed through Belgrade this morning at about 0330 and set out toward Croatia, an AFP correspondent reports from Belgrade, (?quoting) HINA. Shortly before 0430 another column of military vehicles left Belgrade and headed in the same direction.

Oil Storage Facility Hit in Djeletovci

LD3009075391 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 0700 GMT 30 Sep 91

[Excerpt] At about 0500 this morning the occupiers hit an oil storage tank in a Croatian oil company plant in Djeletovci. This is the second oil storage facility to be hit since yesterday,, and 10,000 cubic meters of oil are now burning there. [passage omitted, including indistinct portions, on mortar attacks on villages near Vinkovci; no reports of casualties]

Two Killed in Vinkovci; Croatia Prepares for Attack

LD3009090591 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 0800 GMT 30 Sep 91

[Text] Fighting is going on in several (?parts) of the Vinkovci area. Since last night enemy forces have been attacking virtually all the villages in this area, but the Croatian defenders are successfully repulsing the attacks. The situation on the battlefields along the Mirkovci-Sid road, where the enemy army is seeking to take control, is difficult. Two of our fighters were killed, four seriously injured, and two slightly injured in the fighting last night.

A second oil storage facility has been hit in Djeletovci, so since yesterday two oil storage facilities have been set on fire. A column of 100 vehicles, including 50 armored [word indistinct], is heading out of Serbia toward Vinkovci. The forces of the Republic of Croatia with their [word indistinct] resources, are ready for an attack.

Army Convoy Arrives in Sid on Way To Break Blockade

LD3009100191 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 0930 GMT 30 Sep 91

[Text] A convoy of about 400 vehicles of the Yugoslav Army, including about 60 armored vehicles and tanks and (?dozens) of trucks carrying soldiers and artillery pieces, arrived in Sid this morning. According to AFP, the dispatch of military reinforcements to Sid heralds a large-scale operation aimed at breaking the blockade of barracks by Croatian forces in several towns of this region, especially Vukovar and Osijek.

'New Front' Opens in Vukovar; Fighting Raging in Vinkovci

LD3009111391 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in English 0905 GMT 30 Sep 91

[Excerpts] A new front has been opened in the Vukovar region, near Petrovci. However, despite attempts, enemy forces have not succeeded in penetrating the Croatian defense line. All parts of Vukovar came under mortar fire from the other side of the Danube River in Vojvodina throughout the night. [passage omitted]

Fighting is raging on nearly all fronts in the Vinkovci region. Enemy forces have attacked almost all the villages in this region since last night, but Croatian forces are repulsing the attacks.

The situation is difficult along the Mirkovci feed road, where enemy forces are attempting to take control. Three servicemen died in last night's fighting; four were seriously wounded and two slightly injured. An oil tank was hit in Djeletovci this morning. This has been the second oil tank hit and now 10,000 cubic meters of oil are on fire.

A column of 100 vehicles, including 50 armored personnel carriers, is moving from Serbia toward Vinkovci. Croatian forces, bolstered by reinforcements, are ready for an attack.

A lull in the fighting curently predominates in Osijek. [passage indistinct on rocket attack at 0200] The eastern portion of the city became the most damaged. Fires broke out there but have now for the most part been extinguished. [passage indistinct on overnight attacks on villages in the region] Helicopters flew over the entire region. [passage omitted]

The deafening sound of one or possibly two [word indistinct] fighter jets was heard this morning shortly before 0800 over Dubrovnik. [passage omitted]

Three Destroyers Arrive in Vis Harbor

LD3009115391 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1030 GMT 30 Sep 91

[Text] On three occasions during the night, fierce bursts of automatic rifle fire from the Vela Glava region were heard on the island of Vis. Two flares were also fired.

Citizens were even more alarmed by the fact that three destroyers were present for the first time in Vis harbor. The destroyers Kotor, Pula, and Koper sailed to the island of Vis from the direction of Korcula, but the Kotor set sail for Sibenik an hour after midnight.

In addition to large-scale regular movements and maneuvers by ships of the so-called navy, the crisis headquarters of the island of Vis also registered the arrival of two landing craft from Korcula, which offloaded ammunition and arms in Vis harbor. These were taken away to the barracks there.

Navy Imposes Full Blockade on Dubrovnik

LD3009193291 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 30 Sep 91

[Text] Dubrovnik port authorities today received the following announcement from the command of the Boka Lucka Naval District:

From 1700 today the Yugoslav Navy force will impose a full sea blockade of the wider area of the Dubrovnik harbor, implying a ban on the movement of ships from and to all the ports within the following demarcation line: (?Bat) promontory—Zaton—the Bezdanj promontory—Kolocep—the Grebeni lighthouse—the southeast promontory on the island of Lokrum—the Pelegrin promontory. If the ban is violated, the Navy has been given the order to act according to the rule of combat engagement, without having to issue prior warning.

Vukovar Bombed; Croatian Forces Repulse Attack

LD3009123191 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 30 Sep 91

[Text] The war is continuing unabated. The occupying army and Chetnik groups are trying again to reduce Vukovar to ashes. Around 1100 three army aircraft bombed [word indistinct] in Vukovar, and then dropped cluster bombs on the village of Bogdanovci. According to the latest unofficial details, the casualties in this village are high.

A tank attack was carried out on [place name indistinct] and the area surrounding the barracks in Vukovar. Croatian defense forces are successfully repulsing the attack and [passage indistinct]. There was also a tank attack on Sajmiste, but the occupying forces were returned to their original positions. Borovo Naselje is experiencing yet another day of war. The enemy is firing missiles from all its strongholds at almost regular intervals, every 10 minutes.

The Serbian bank of the Danube is the area where the enemy is intensifying its activities this morning. Its multi-barrel rocket launchers and howitzers are again directed at all parts of the town, but not aimed at particular targets.

We have not received any new details on the activities of the army convoy that is moving from Serbia toward the Croatian border, thus approaching Vukovar, the first Croatian rampart. The army is unpredictable, but it is good to know that the Croatian Armed Forces are reluctant to give in and withdraw.

Heavy Fighting Reported in Banija

AU3009172091 Belgrade Radio Belgrade Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 30 Sep 91

[Dragan Bera report from Banija]

[Text] As I am reporting, a fierce battle is being waged in Vidusevac near Glina, one of the last and the most determined strongholds of the Ustasha forces in Banija. The cease-fire and the paper truce that were supposed to have been in effect in the last few days were used by the Croatian fighters to bring reinforcements, regroup their units, and build new strongholds only a few kilometers from free Glina. It is estimated that there are several hundred of them in the positions in the town. They are well-armed.

Meanwhile, mortars, cannons, and other weapons have arrived from the West European markets. Some of these weapons have been seized from the barracks of the Yugoslav People's Army that have been captured.

Despite that, members of the Banija Territorial Defense managed this morning to breach the first combat line of the Croatian fighters and are already in the suburbs themselves. There are casualties on both sides. The Croatian Ministry of Internal Affairs and the Croatian National Guard have suffered much more. They have suffered dozens of dead and wounded. We have learned from the Staff of the Glina Territorial Defense that the Territorial Defense suffered four fatalities and about 10 wounded. Fighting is continuing with the same intensity.

Today fighting also resumed in Kordun. After small skirmishes yesterday, Tudjman's soldiers today attacked the positions of the Territorial Defense of Vrgin Most in the Kupa valley. The attack provoked a fierce response. Mortar fire is being exchanged and shots have also been fired from light arms. Some fighting is also taking place around Sisak.

Army Begins 'Final' Battle for Vukovar

AU3009215491 Belgrade Radio Belgrade Network in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 30 Sep 91

[Text] Fierce fighting between the Croatian Forces and the Yugoslav People's Army broke out in the Vukovar area this afternoon. According to Croat Radio, there are

many wounded on both sides. A Belgrade Radio correspondent reported that the action for the final liberation for Vukovar started this afternoon. He said that strong armored mechanized units set off from the village of Negoslavci toward Vukovar and that they are assisted by the Air Force. The reporter said that members of the Guard are trying to save themselves by fleeing toward Vinkovci and Osijek but, as he said, are not succeeding because the forces of the Serb Territorial Defense are quicker.

Croat Radio reported that enemy mortars, tanks, and howitzers are continuously shelling Vukovar. The fiercest battles are fought in the village of Bogdanovci, for which Croat Radio claims to be the only link with Vinkovci.

The Command of the Air Force and Air Defense has not commented on the reports on the Air Force participation in the fighting near Vukovar.

Army Attempting Break Through Vukovar Front Line

LD3009223391 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 2200 GMT 30 Sep 91

[Text] The forces of aggression are bringing more reinforcements to the Vukovar battlefield, with the intention of breaking through the front. Although artillery and air attacks have been stepped up, the federal Army failed to defeat Croatian defenses and is currently launching missiles from mortars and rocket launchers from a safe distance.

The thrust of today's attacks was Eastern Vukovar. An unsuccessful attempt was made at a tank and infantry breakthrough from the barracks, but the Croatian Defense Forces repelled it. An attack on Bogdanovci, on which the aggressor threw cluster bombs from aircraft, was also repelled. Twenty-four wounded people were taken to the Vukovar hospital today.

Vukovar Devastated by Heavy Artillery Attack

LD0110101591 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 0900 GMT 1 Oct 91

[Excerpt] This is last night's picture in the Vukovar area: the showering of Borovo Naselje with heavy artillery shells; 300 grenades fired at the center of Vukovar; and three times as many shells fired at Mitnica, its eastern sector, resulting in new devastation and conflagration. [passage omitted]

Serbia

Markovic Sends Open Letter to Milosevic

LD3009172791 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1357 GMT 30 Sep 91

[Text] Belgrade, 30 Sep (TANJUG)—FEC [Federal Executive Council] President Ante Markovic today sent an open letter to Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic. The letter, which was also sent to the signatories of the Belgrade agreement and memorandum and to the signatories of the Igalo agreement, says:

"I was astonished to learn from the information media of the partial mobilization in the Republic of Serbia. This is confirmed by an interview the Serbian defense minister gave to Belgrade radio on 28 September 1991. According to TANJUG, Lieutenant Colonel General Tomislav Simovic said that at this stage, it was only partial public mobilization, because conditions for general mobilization have not yet been created, but that the mobilization will continue, and that more people will be called up."

The reasons for this mobilization, as quoted by Gen. Simovic, are particularly surprising: "The fact that Serbia is defending itself in Serbian Krajina shows that, in fact, our children, who have been kept in barracks without bread and water for days, are defending themselves and that centuries-old Serbian homes, located within somebody else's administrative borders which are not recognized by the Serbian people, are being defended: This is the final act of the military denouement of the Yugoslav crisis".

A member of the Serbian government, Dragan Dragojlovic, spoke at a meeting in Valjevo about the motives for the mobilization: "We keep saying that Serbia is not at war with Croatia, but the Serbian people are. We cannot say so because of international public opinion. In that case, Serbia would be an aggressor. Because, when a YPA [Yugoslav People's Army] soldier is in Croatia, we cannot say that it is Serbia. Therefore, Serbia cannot have its own army, and so it has the YPA as its army".

Gen. Simovic's statement in his interview is extremely hypocritical and unscrupulous, as he explains why a number of reservists failed to respond to the call-ups to join armed conflicts and, particularly, why some soldiers are tempted to leave their units. Simovic says: "A number of reasons for such behavior exist; one of them is, of course, that for a number of years the powder keg in the Balkans has not exploded. The generations who were born in a time of peace find it difficult to overcome the psychological crises and receive their baptism of fire."

In quoting all these statements by Serbian officials—and many more were uttered in a similar tone—I am reminding you that according to Article 216 of the Constitution, it is only the SFRY Presidency that can order general or partial mobilization, under conditions which also must be based on the Constitution.

I do not wish, not even for a single moment, to pardon all the others in Yugoslavia, who through their unilateral acts, denied the country's legal system and with their activities brought about the gory and senseless denouement of the Yugoslav crisis. I spoke about this in the SFRY Assembly on 25 June this year and also in the Slovene and Croatian Assemblies, appealing to deputies of these republics to refrain from a policy of making

decisions unilaterally, but instead to make efforts to seek together a peaceful and democratic way out of the present crisis.

Hence, I want my letter to be read by all those who disagree with ending war hysteria and finding a peaceful settlement to the crisis. Therefore, I include the need to monitor what has been agreed to, and the most necessary mechanisms for the functioning of the system in the period until a final agreement on the future of Yugoslavia has been reached. [sentence as received]

I am addressing you because the proclamation of general mobilization in the Republic of Serbia will directly serve the purposes of the civil war and the aggression of one republic against another, using YPA units. It is impossible that all this has been done without your knowledge and consent because you are the most responsible official in Serbia. If this is not so, revoke these decisions and replace those who are to blame; otherwise, you will be directly responsible for the aggression and the civil war before the Yugoslav nations and the world and particularly before the citizens of Serbia.

You signed the Belgrade and Igalo agreements with Croatian President Tudjman and Federal Defense Secretary Kadijevic. By signing these documents you accepted part of the responsibility for the present tragic events and you pledged to take all measures to put an end to hostilities because "there is no favourable solution for our nations which can come from violence and killing. We therefore pledge that all those under our control and our political and military influence must immediately cease fire. We are fully aware of the heavy responsibility that we are sharing at this crucial moment of our history".

How, and with what sacred goals, are those who signed the Igalo peace agreement going to explain to the citizens and nations of this country—and particularly to the families of those who perished—what is being prepared by this mobilization?

Therefore, I make this appeal: There must be an end to the senseless destruction, killing, and wounding. Every change of borders by force leads to this end, as well as the policy that wishes to resolve the future of the Serbian people in Croatia by waging a war.

The outbreak of the civil war between the two republics that threatens to spread to all of Yugoslavia is certainly not in anyone's interest in Yugoslavia, even less in the interest of the Serbs and Croats who are dying in this war. It is not in the interest of our neighbors in Europe or in the world. Not only will this will not resolve the problems of coexistence between the Serbs and Croats in Croatia and Yugoslavia, but also the destruction, enormous casualties, and the hostility created by hatred will have an effect and haunt the protagonists of this war and their progeny, burdening the conscience of all people in this country. There is no winner in this senseless war. All are losers.

Revoke your mobilization order. You are the head of the largest republic in Yugoslavia, and, for that reason alone, your responsibility for the future of this country and the possible life together is enormous. If you fail to do so, you will not be able to avoid responsibility.

Sit down and negotiate and discuss ways to resolve the conflict, to enable The Hague peace conference to succeed, and to find how the European Community and the world can help us, not only to stop the hostilities, but also how to reach an agreement on our future life here, how to prevent an economic cataclysm and thus the inevitable social poverty of millions of people of this country.

In conclusion, I want to tell you that I am aware of the absurdity that now it is much more difficult to be an advocate of peace than of war. Unfortunately, at this senseless moment, when war is being promoted forcefully, those who are persevering in their quest for a peaceful resolution of the Yugoslav drama are being labelled as betrayers, FEC President Ante Markovic says in his open letter which he sent to Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic.

Zelenovic 'Astonished' at Letter

LD3009194491 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in 1723 GMT 30 Sep 91

[Text] Belgrade, 30 Sep (TANJUG)—Dr. Dragutin Zelenovic, prime minister of the Republic of Serbia, tonight sent the following letter to the president of the Federal Executive Council [FEC]:

Regarding your letter to the president of the Republic of Serbia, published by TANJUG on 30 September, I wish to draw your attention to the following:

I am quite certain that you know fully well that the partial mobilization in the Republic of Serbia and other republics is being carried out by the Yugoslav People's Army [YPA], and this on the basis of the federal law proposed by the Federal Executive Council, which you chair. This law was adopted by the SFRY Assembly on the basis of this proposal. You also ought to know that the YPA can mobilize to a level necessary to carry out the obligation of preventing intra-national conflict and civil war. As far as I know, you personally attended that session of the SFRY Presidency.

As far as the Republic of Serbia and its organs are concerned, you know well that this republic still recognizes the existence of Yugoslavia and that it observes federal laws and decisions of competent federal organs on its territory. The attitude of the Republic of Serbia toward mobilization is a manifestation of this general position of our Republic.

Your reaction is not in keeping with the office of the president of the FEC in which capacity you should strive to implement the federal laws. It would be in keeping with your office to react to the formation of a republican army in Croatia and to prevent its citizens from serving

their national service in the YPA, as well as to similar phenomena in some other republics. Your "astonishment" obviously means to create an impression abroad among insufficiently informed people or among those who do not have benevolent intentions toward our country and especially not toward the Republic of Serbia. I believe that our public will not swallow such messages by the FEC president, expressed for the umpteenth time to have an effect on issues outside our country at the expense of all Yugoslav peoples.

Ante Markovic, I am really astonished by your persistence on a path from which there seems to be no return for your government," the letter of the prime minister of Serbia concludes.

Obradovic Interviewed on 'Ideal' Solution

LD0110043791 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1111 GMT 30 Sep 91

[Text] Belgrade, Sept 30 (TANJUG)—Vice President of the Parliament of the Yugoslav Republic of Serbia Pavic Obradovic says that the ideal striven for in Serbia in the present circumstances is a Yugoslavia without Slovenia and Croatia, but with the territories of the so-called Serbian autonomous regions in Croatia.

In an interview carried by the Belgrade daily BORBA today, Obradovic explains that the Republic of Croatia could secede from Yugoslavia, but "without the territories of the Serbian autonomous regions of Krajina and of eastern Slavonia, Baranja and Western Srem."

"Serbia has chosen to stand up in the protection of the threatened Serbian population in the autonomous region of Krajina and the Serbian regions of Eastern Slavonia, Baranja and Western Srem and to give help not only in food and medication, but also in armament and, especially now, in manpower," Obradovic says.

Possible decisions by the republics of Bosnia-Hercegovina and Macedonia to secede from Yugoslavia would broach the question of the determination of the Serbian population in those republics to live in one state, as well as the question of territorial demarcation, Obradovic warns.

Obradovic specifies that he speaks for himself and propagates his own personal opinions.

Democratic Alliance Announces Results of Kosovo Referendum

LD0110010291 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1328 GMT 30 Sep 91

[Text] Ljubljana, 30 Sep (TANJUG)—The Democratic Alliance of Kosovo for Slovenia, which organized yesterday's referendum on the future of Kosovo in Slovenia, today announced the results of the voting through the good offices of the Slovene press agency. It is stated that of a total of 5,162 voters at five polling stations—in Ljubljana, Celje, Maribor, Kranj, and Nova Gorica—99.3 percent voted in favor of the Republic of Kosovo.

The referendum was carried out only among the Albanians and other nationalities from Kosovo who are temporarily employed in Slovenia; in other words, those whose abode in Slovenia is permanent did not take part in the referendum.

Army Reservists Abandon Positions, Protest in Belgrade

LD3009184791 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1804 GMT 30 Sep 91

[Text] Belgrade, 30 Sep (TANJUG)—About 200 reservists from Stara Pazova and surrounding areas arrived this evening outside the Assembly of Serbia. On their way through Batajnica, Zemun, and New Belgrade they chanted: "Treason," "Ustashe," and "We want Adzic." Near Batajnica a transport police patrol blocked the coaches with the reservists, who then continued on foot toward the center of Belgrade.

"We represent 750 reservists from Stara Pazova and the surrounding area who last night abandoned their positions in Bogojevo and returned home, one of the reservists said. We maintain, they said, that there has been treason in the Army top brass and we are going to the Serbian parliament to ask the replacement of the top Army leadership. We want to know if Serbia is at war with Croatia and which borders should be defended."

"Only four coaches left Stara Pazova today because there was no gas for any others," the reservists claim.

Reservists Protest 'Treason' at Parliament

LD0110071791 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0426 GMT 1 Oct 91

[Text] Belgrade, September 30 (TANJUG)—Some 200 reservists from the town of Stara Pazova, near Belgrade, protested in front of Serbia's parliament here today at, they said, "treason in the Yugoslav Army ranks" and insisted on replacements in the top Army and state circles.

The protesters demanded that Stjepan Mesic, president of Yugoslavia's Presidency, Ante Markovic, federal premier, Gen. Veljko Kadijevic, federal defence minister, and his deputy, Adm. Stane Brovet, be replaced.

They also demanded that replaced be the members of the local military authorities who, the reservists claimed, "received bribes from those who did not want to go to the front."

The group of Stara Pazova reservists represented about 750 young men from Stara Pazova and the surrounding places who had left their positions at Bogojevo, at the border between Serbia and Croatia, and went home, the group said.

In order to return "to the front," the reservists insisted that their battalion be commanded by active officers only and that they go into action supported from the air.

The protesters also asked, one of them told TANJUG, to be said "whether Serbia is at war with Croatia and which border they should defend."

Since they insisted all the time on having a talk with the Yugoslav Army's Chief of Staff, Col. Gen. Blagoje Hadzic, the reservists were this evening transported by buses to the guard centre, outside of downtown Belgrade, where the demanded talk is to take place.

'Strict Repressive Measures' in Vojvodina

LD3009201891 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 30 Sep 91

[Text] Authorities in Vojvodina have lately been resorting to strict repressive measures against anyone who publicly expresses opposition to the policy of Milosevic's Socialist Party. In addition to telephone tapping and the tolerance of threats by extremists to leaders of some opposition parties, which have become an everyday occurrence, the police have begun searching Croatian households in Srem under the pretext of looking for weapons. Recently in Sid the police beat up a Catholic priest. Slankamen, a Srem village with Croatian population, has been under constant threat from Chetniks from Nova Pazova.

Serbian Ministry Denies Mistreating Muslim Religious Leader

LD2909211291 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1924 GMT 29 Sep 91

[Text] Pristina, September 29 (TANJUG)—The Serbian Interior Ministry Headquarters in Pristina has denied a press report that the supreme head of the Muslim religious community in Yugoslavia, Reis-ul-Ulema Jakub Selimoski, was mistreated at a police station in Djakovica.

The Albanian-language paper BUJKU, published in the capital of Kosovo and Metohija, a province within the Republic of Serbia, reported on Sunday that Selimoski, together with 43 Muslim priests and their assistants, was taken to the station and 'mistreated for nearly two hours.'

Officials at the headquarters confirmed to TANJUG's reporter that Selimoski was among the participants of an illegal meeting at a kindergarten in Djakovica.

They were all released after half an hour's talk about the purpose of the meeting, the officials said.

Bosnia-Hercegovina

Autonomous Northeast Region Proclaimed Illegal

LD0110092191 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1906 GMT 30 Sep 91

[Text] Sarajevo, 30 Sep (TANJUG)—The Government of Bosnia-Hercegovina today concluded that a decision to proclaim an autonomous region in northeast Bosnia is illegal and unconstitutional. As such, the decision is null and void and has no legal bearing.

The government decided this by a majority of votes. In line with previous positions, the government will consider all consequences of this decision and will forward its views to the Bosnia-Hercegovina Assembly.

Cengic Criticizes Serb Expansionism

AU2909203791 Sarajevo Radio Sarajevo Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 28 Sep 91

[Text] The peoples in Bosnia-Hercegovina are not in conflict and nobody has the right or the need to send reservists to help them make peace. Muhamed Cengic, vice president of Bosnia-Hercegovina, stated today for HINA [CROATIAN NATIONAL INFORMATION AGENCY] that reservists from Montenegro have arrived in Hercegovina without any notice to the Assembly or the government or any other political institution in Bosnia-Hercegovina.

In the so-called Serbian Autonomous Regions formed in Bosnia- Hercegovina, the laws of this republic are not observed. They are introducing their own laws. In these artificial establishments where Serbs represent the majority, Muslims are dismissed from work only because they are Muslims. Muhamed Cengic believes that all such events, as well as the arrival of the reservists in Montenegro and the particular emphasis on the Belgrade declaration, reveal the obvious efforts to incorporate Bosnia-Hercegovina into Serbia. Cengic pointed out that Muslims in Bosnia-Hercegovina insist on preserving the unity of Bosnia-Hercegovina, striving also to preserve the community which is called Yugoslavia. We can and should talk about everything, and I am convinced that the best thing for all of us would be to return to the declaration of Izetbegovic and Gligorov and to seek the solution for the crisis on this basis, stated Muhamed Cengic for HINA.

Izetbegovic Says 'No Legal Basis' for Mobilization

AU3009113791 Sarajevo Radio Sarajevo Network in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 29 Sep 91

[Interview with Alija Izetbegovic, president of the Presidency of Bosnia-Hercegovina, by Momcilo Karan; date and place not given—recorded]

[Text] [Karan] What comment would you make regarding today's mobilization in Bosanska Krajina that was announced by General Uzelac?

[Izetbegovic] Yes, early this afternoon I was surprised by the news that the general mobilization was announced in Bosanska Krajina. We called the headquarters; we in fact asked them, in the Banja Luka Corps Headquarters, by whose order they had organized this mobilization, whether they had the order from the Federal Secretariat for National Defense and the [Bosnia-Hercegovina] Ministry for National Defense. They said they did not do it on the order of the Federal Secretariat for National Defense, but based on the evaluation, (?brief) evaluation of the situation. Of course, as soon as that answer was given, it was clear that this mobilization had no legal basis. I stated that this was a matter of a private war ordered by General Uzelac, and following this, I sent a notice to the citizens of Bosanska Krajina that they are not required to respond to the mobilization, because General Uzelac has no right to announce any kind of private war.

[Karan] Is there any kind of information in the republic's crisis headquarters regarding the response?

[Izetbegovic] I believe that so far there is no information; I have not been in contact with the crisis headquarters during the past hour; I'm not sure what the situation is regarding the response, but in any case, tomorrow we will require that the government and the presidency meet in order to state their view on this matter.

Military Column Near Trebenje; Naval Commander Replaced

LD3009132891 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1130 GMT 30 Sep 91

[Excerpts] We have been told that at about 1115 a large mechanized column—mostly trucks with Niksic registration plates—passed through Trebinje. The trucks are full of reservists and it is estimated that there are between 500 and 600 of them. At present they have stopped in the (?Gljiva) area where they are waiting for additional reinforcements. This column, most probably from Niksic, has moved toward the borders of the Dubrovnik municipality. The reservists in the trucks fired shots in the air, which caused great alarm in Trebinje itself. [passage omitted]

We have learned unofficially that Captain Krste Djurovic, commander of the Boka Kotorska naval sector, was replaced last night, as was his deputy. According to Titograd radio this morning, they have been imprisoned and are charged with having collaborated with the Croatian Ministry of Internal Affairs. According to the same report, Novak Kilibarda, the leader of the People's Party of Montenegro, has stated that the newly appointed commander will immediately go into action to occupy the territory of the Dubrovnik municipality.

Krajina Leaders Demand Deployment of Army Units

AU3009141291 Sarajevo Radio Sarajevo Network in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 29 Sep 91

[Text] Bosanski Petrovac, Titov Drvar, Bosansko Grahovo, and some other western Krajina communes have demanded that the Command of the Yugoslav People's Army Garrison in Bihac and the Federal Secretariat for National Defense in Belgrade deploy some of the units that have been removed from Slovenia in their towns. Rajko Novakovic, president of the Bosanski Petrovac Communal Assembly, expressed the hope that the respective military organs will meet their demands. Similar statements have been made by leaders of Titov Drvar, Bosansko Grahovo, Bosanski Novi, Bosanska Kostajnica, and other towns in Krajina.

Authorities Request Information on Reservists

AU3009143291 Sarajevo Radio Sarajevo Network in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 29 Sep 91

[Text] Many Bosnia Krajina citizens from whose families' reservists have been drafted into units of the Yugoslav People's Army and sent to the territory of the Republic of Croatia, have recently addressed the Crisis Headquarters of the Presidency of Bosnia-Hercegovina asking to be given information about their relatives.

Citizens, and parents in particular, demand that the Crisis Headquarters mediate in finding the reservists drafted from Bosnia-Hercegovina. According to their families, a number of reservists have left the war units of the Yugoslav People's Army, some of them have surrendered to units of the Croatian Ministry of Internal Affairs, and, according to some information, a certain number of reservists have been hiding in Slavonia and Baranja fields, exposed to hunger, persecution, and cold.

The Crisis Headquarters has contacted the respective military authorities of the Yugoslav People's Army and, through the mediation of the Government of Bosnia-Hercegovina, the official organs of the authorities of the Republic of Croatia, with a view to finding reservists from Bosnia-Hercegovina and helping them return home.

At the same time, the Crisis Headquarters of the Presidency of Bosnia-Hercegovina is calling on all reservists from Bosnia-Hercegovina who are wandering through the overall chaos and anarchy of battlefields in the Republic of Croatia to contact the nearest Red Cross office in order to be able to return home. With the help of the respective organs of Bosnia-Hercegovina, the Crisis Headquarters will do everything in its jurisdiction and power in order to help reservists return to their families in the shortest and quickest way, regardless of where they are at the moment.

The Crisis Headquarters appeals to all sides in the conflict to treat these people in a humane way. The Crisis Headquarters of the Presidency of Bosnia-Hercegovina

asks all citizens who have any information about reservists to immediately inform the Crisis Headquarters on the following telephone numbers: 214-555 or 217-863.

General on 'Forced' Conscription by Ustasha

LD3009182891 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1604 GMT 30 Sep 91

[Text] Banjaluka, 30 Sep (TANJUG)—"A few thousand young men from western Hercegovina and many places predominantly populated by Croats and Muslims were either forced to join or joined the Ustasha black legions. There are 1,500 men from Bosnia-Hercegovina who are currently being trained in Croatia, and all this has been tolerated by the Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency. At the same time, the Presidency endeavored to thwart every mobilization of the territorial defense, proclaiming it illegal".

This is stressed in a letter sent today to information media by Commander of the Yugoslav People's Army Banjaluka Corps Lieutenant General Nikola Uzelac, in connection with a letter from the Bosnia-Hercegovina crisis headquarters signed by coordinator of the headquarters Ejup Ganic.

Uzelac added that "everything has been done to make sure that some municipal secretariats for national defense, under the influence of national-fascist ideology, thwart the mobilization and refuse to hand over register lists to army and territorial bodies."

In his reply Lieutenant General Uzelac stresses that "the most tragic pressure is being put on the patriotic Muslims and Croats, who responded to call-ups. They have been receiving threats that their houses will be set on fire, their children and closest members of their families will be killed, but still many of them return to their units and continue to perform their tasks conscientiously," the commander of the Banjaluka Corps says in his reply to the Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency's crisis headquarters.

Government Condemns Mobilization in Krajina

AU3009204291 Sarajevo Radio Sarajevo Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 30 Sep 91

[Excerpt] Apart from discussing several bills, the Government of Bosnia-Hercegovina today mainly discussed the current political and security aspects of the order for mobilization, which was said to be an illegal act. Our correspondent Mladen Krcmanovic reports:

[Begin Krcmanovic recording] The agenda envisaged for today's session of the government underwent, as expected, substantial changes, because the decision by Lieutenant General Nikola Uzelac, commander of the Banja Luka Corps, on general mobilization could not be avoided. The discussion was polarized along the usual lines: Croat and Muslim ministers were striving for the most energetic condemnation of this act, which was described as an independent act that leads toward further tensions between the official organs of the republic and the Yugoslav People's Army.

Serb representatives in the government insisted on the need for official information if this topic, as well as other topics such as the detention of Reis-ul-Ulema, [head of the Muslim religious community in Yugoslavia] are to be discussed at all. Their view was that the government cannot make conclusions on the basis of media reports. If such topics are to be discussed in this way, Velibor Ostojic said, then one should also hold a discussion on the Croatian armed forces filling their ranks with citizens from Bosnia- Hercegovina, on the bombing of bridges, and the total blockade of road and railroad communications in this republic, as well as the blockade on oil supplies for this republic caused by events in Croatia. The government has not said anything about that. What is obviously at play are distorted criteria, since some events are debated all the time, while other events are not discussed at all, Ostojic said.

This and similar views were in the minority and the government adopted with a majority vote the view that, as far the mobilization is concerned, this was an unconstitutional and illegal act which the draftees are not obliged to respond to. In this context, some members of the government called for the replacement of Lieutenant General Uzelac. This call was also put in the official statement. One should also say that some members also called for the replacement of federal secretaries for internal affairs and national defense. There was also a call for the replacement of the Serbian interior minister, because of the detention of the head of the Islamic community. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Different Opinions on Mobilization

LD0110041591 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0100 GMT 1 Oct 91

[Text] Sarajevo, September 30 (TANJUG)—The Presidency of the Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina, central Yugoslavia, evaluated here today that mobilization in Bosanska Krajina (border land), in the north of the republic, was not lawful, it was announced.

The constitutionally competent body having not ordered the mobilization, the mobilized are entitled not to report for military service, the presidency of the republic said.

Bosnia-Hercegovina's Presidency asked from the federal collective chief of state and the military authorities to replace Lt. Col. Gen. Nikola Uzelac, who ordered the mobilization.

Biljana Plavsic and Nikola Koljevic, the Presidency members of Serbian nationality, did not agree with such Presidency evaluations.

The mobilization was lawful since the Banja Luka corps had been earlier ordered by the top command to act on

separating the [word indistinct] paramilitary formations and unblocking the Yugoslav Army barracks, she said today.

Gen. Nikola Uzelac, commander of the Banja Luka Corps, ordered a general mobilization in the area of Bosanska Krajina yesterday, explaining it by "having no time left since Croatia profits by each cease-fire to reinforce armed forces in the struggle against the Yugoslav Army and those who want to remain in Yugoslavia."

The Banja Luka Corps formations over Bosnia-Hercegovina's northern part and its units are engaged in the region of Slavonia, in the west of Croatia.

Bosnia-Hercegovina's government today qualified the said mobilization as "an arbitrary and unlawful act" and also asked that Uzelac be replaced.

The Serbian nationality ministers on Bosnia-Hercegovina's government dissociated themselves from such a qualification, explaining that they see "the general mobilization call only as an effort to prevent a civil war in Bosnia-Hercegovina, to re-establish peace and to create conditions for democratic talks on Yugoslavia's future."

"Several thousand young men have left western Hercegovina and many places overwhelmingly populated by Croats and Moslems and joined Ustasha black legion units," Lt. Col. Gen. Uzelac said today.

"Being trained in Croatia just now are 1,500 young men from Bosnia-Hercegovina," Gen. Uzelac claimed.

"Bosnia-Hercegovina's Presidency has tolerated and is tolerating all of that and, at the same time, keeps trying to make impossible any territorial defence mobilization, qualifying it as unlawful," Gen. Uzelac added.

Living in Bosnia-Hercegovina are Moslems, Serbs and Croats whose national parties have shares in power.

Bosnia To Seek Dismissal of Army Corps Commander

LD3009212291 Lujbljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 2000 GMT 30 Sep 91

[Text] Ejup Ganic, Bosnia-Hercegovina's crisis headquarters coordinator, told journalists after today's meeting at the headquarters that the Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency will demand that the Army General Staff replace Lieutenant-Colonel General Nikola Uzelac as Banjaluka Corps commander. The crisis headquarters believes that General Uzelac, by his thoughtless and willful actions, wants to push Bosanska Krajina into war, which is not in keeping with the policy of Bosnia-Hercegovina.

A Bosanski Brod municipality delegation today visited the Bosnia- Hercegovina Presidency and said that the municipality of Bosanski Brod will prevent any provocations against Croatia on its territory.

Serbian Ministers Issue Statement

LD3009225391 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1913 GMT 30 Sep 91

[Text] Sarajevo, 30 Sep (TANJUG)—The ministers of Serbian nationality serving in the Government of Bosnia-Hercegovina support all efforts to preserve Yugoslavia and Bosnia-Hercegovina and to prevent the outbreak of war in Bosnia-Hercegovina, as well as the cessation of war in Croatia. They also consider the call for a general mobilization to be an attempt to prevent war in Bosnia- Hercegovina, establish peace, and create conditions for democratic negotiations on the future of Yugoslavia.

This point of view is emphasized in a statement issued by the Serbian ministers who serve in the Government of Bosnia-Hercegovina in connection with questions arising from the statement on the government meeting today. The ministers point out that they have turned to the public in this way to ask for consideration for their own people and all sincere friends, and that this is their mutual stand.

When it is a question of methods and work issues, we wish that the government—the statement says—would act only in keeping with the facts established by the state bodies, not on the basis of news reports and telephone information. For this reason we cannot accept blanket statements in connection with the arrest of Mr. Reis-ul-Ulema [head of the Muslim religious community in Yugoslavia] without seeing a previous report by the state organs of Serbia, the statement adds.

In the same way, the ministers say, it is not possible to accept unverified information on alleged attacks against religious officials or religious buildings. To adopt official stands on such important questions without previously examining all relevant facts can only discredit the government in the eyes of the public, emphasizes the statement issued by the Serbian ministers serving in the government of Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Izetbegovic Warns of Threat of Civil War

LD0110050391 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1501 GMT 30 Sep 91

[Text] Madrid, September 30 (TANJUG)—Presidency President of the Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina Alija Izetbegovic has warned of a danger of a "horrible civil war" in which "hundreds of thousands of people will be killed in a very short period."

In a talk with a special reporter of the Spanish daily DIARIO 16, Izetbegovic accused "irresponsible individuals" in Yugoslavia of being responsible for the current very tense situation in the Balkans, but did not name anyone specifically.

Izetbegovic said that the Army "has moved out of the barracks all its troops" in Bosnia-Hercegovina.

He set out that, "thanks to a mutual tolerance," Muslims, Croats and Serbs in Bosnia-Hercegovina "have lived in peace for centuries, and will continue to do so."

Izetbegovic said that, "if something dramatic happens" in Bosnia- Hercegovina "it will reflect on all of the continent."

Islamic Leader Complains of Muslims' Mistreatment

AU0110094491 Sarajevo Radio Sarajevo Network in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 29 Sep 91

[Text] I was profoundly surprised and embittered by the news of the detention of Reis-ul-Ulema of Yugoslavia, Hadzi Jakub, Efendi Selimovski, and then the president of Meshikhat of the Islamic Community for Kosovo, Serbia, and Vojvodina, Redzep Boje, and 44 high officials of the Islamic community and by the hours of brutal, humiliating mistreatment, and the searches to which they were subjected by the Serbian police in Djakovica. This was stated in the letter written by Hadzi Mustafa Plicaric, president of the Supreme Parliament of the Islamic community, to the president of the Serbian Republic, Slobodan Milosevic.

Moreover, the letter states that the terror that has been imposed for decades on the Muslim residents of Kosovo and Sandzak is further proof of the so-called democracy of the Serbian authorities.

As the president of the highest judiciary and representative body, of the Supreme Parliament of the Islamic community, and leader of six and one half million Muslims in Yugoslavia, I demand that an urgent and effective investigation be conducted, that all those who participated in this shameful deed be severely punished, that the public be informed about the results of the investigation, and that you make a public apology. This was stated in the letter by Hadzi Mustafa Plicaric addressed to Slobodan Milosevic.